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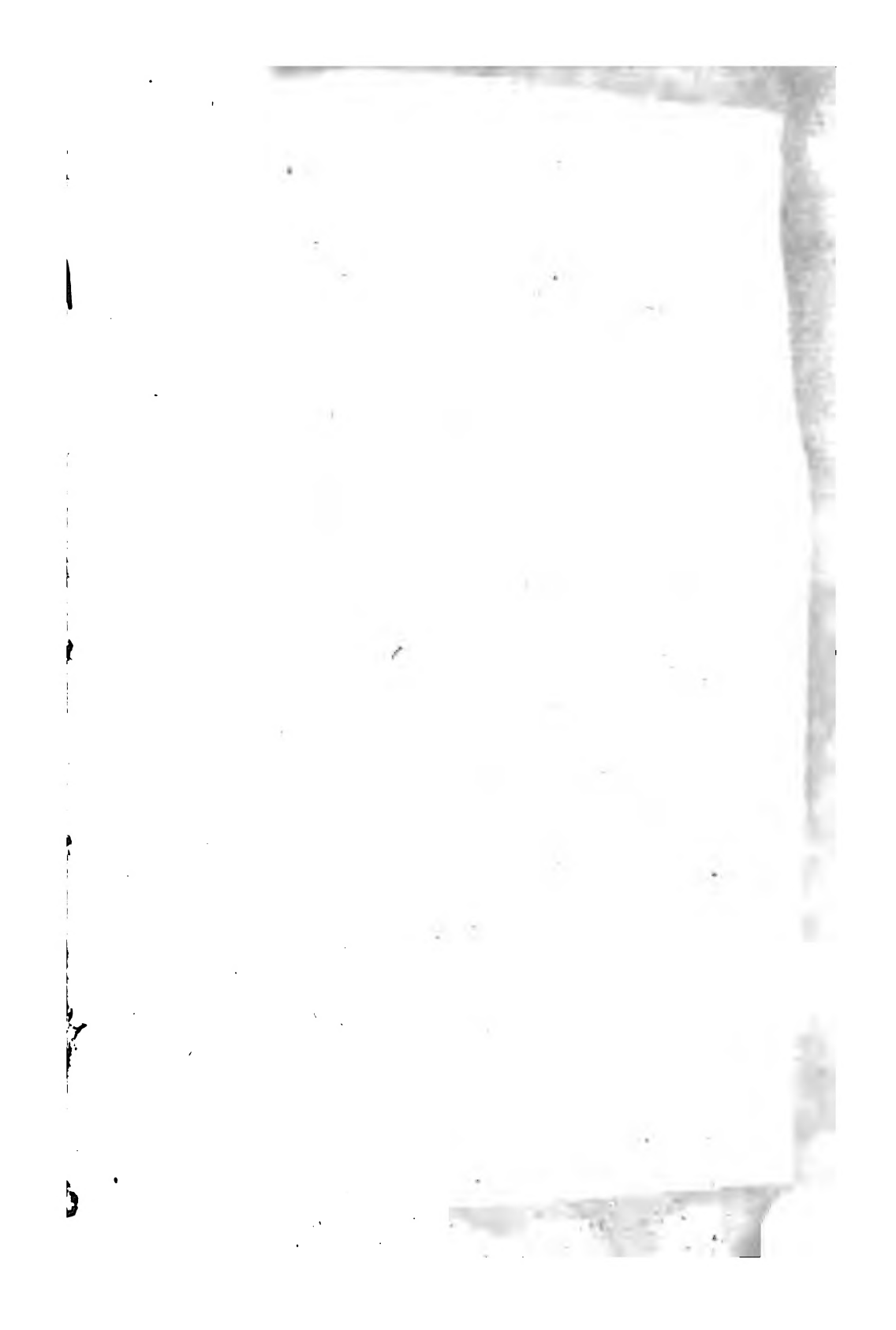
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Answer

Τῶν Παλαιῶν,

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ, ΛΥΣΙΟΥ,

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ, ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΙ.



Εν ΟΞΟΝΙΑ.

Ετι αψξκ'



292. f. 44.

# Funeral Eulogies

Upon MILITARY MEN

from

THUCYDIDES,    LYSIAS,  
PLATO,            XENOPHON.

In the Original Greek.

To which are added

*Extracts* from CICERO.

With Observations and Notes in English.

The Second Edition.

O X F O R D,

At the THEATRE. 1768,





## Ε Π Ι Γ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α.

ΟΙΔΕ πάτρας ἔνεχα σφετέρας, εἰς δῆριν ἔγενε

Οπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαι,  
Μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος, ὅς κ' ἐσάωσαν

Ψυχάς, ἄλλ' αἰδὴν κοινὸν ἔγεντο βράδιον,

Οὐνεκεν Ελλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχέσι γένῃες

Δαλοσυῶνς συγχερὰ ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.

Γαῖα δ' ὅ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τ' πλεῖστα χαμόντων

Σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ὅκ Διὸς ἦδε χεῖρισ.

Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ὅστι Θεῶν, καὶ πάντα χαθαρῶν

Εἰ βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν ἔπορει.

\*

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# ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ.

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῆδε πρηνυσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
 Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

.....

Ω ξέν', ἄγχιλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅπ'ι τῆδε  
 Κείμεθα, τοῖς κένων ῥήμασι σφειδόμενοι.

.....

Μῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγίστα, ὅν ποτε Μῆδοι  
 Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναι ἀμειψόμενοι,  
 Μάντιος· ὅς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένης σάφα εἰδώς,  
 Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας σφολιπέειν.

.....

Τῶν δ' ὁ Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
 Εὐκλεὲς περ ἡ τύχη, καλὸς δ' ὁ  
 Πότμος, βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος  
 Περγάνων τε πάντας ὁ δ' οἶκος  
 Ἐπανός. ἀτάφονον δ' οὐκ οἶκον  
 Οὐτ' εὐρὸς, οὐδ' ὁ πανδαράτωρ  
 Αἰμαυρῶς χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 ὃ δ' οὐκ οἶκος οἶκος εὐδοξίαν  
 Ἑλλάδος εἴλατο μαρτυρῆναι δ' Ἀσπιδάρκας  
 Ὁ Σπάρτης βασιλεὺς, ἀρετῆς μέγας  
 Λελοπῶς κόσμος, ἀνδρῶν τε κλέος.

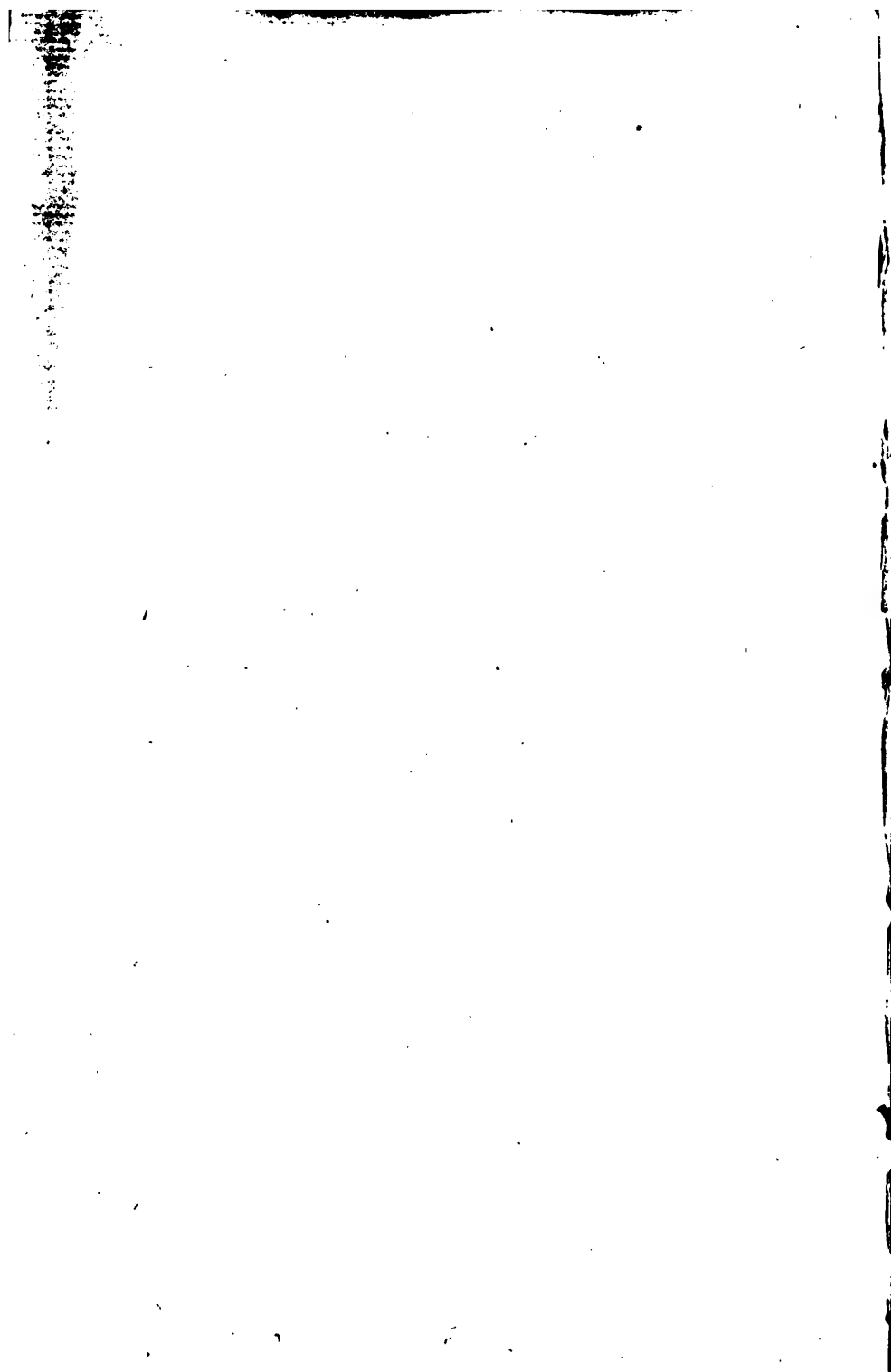
Υ Π Ο Θ Ε Σ Ι Σ  
ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

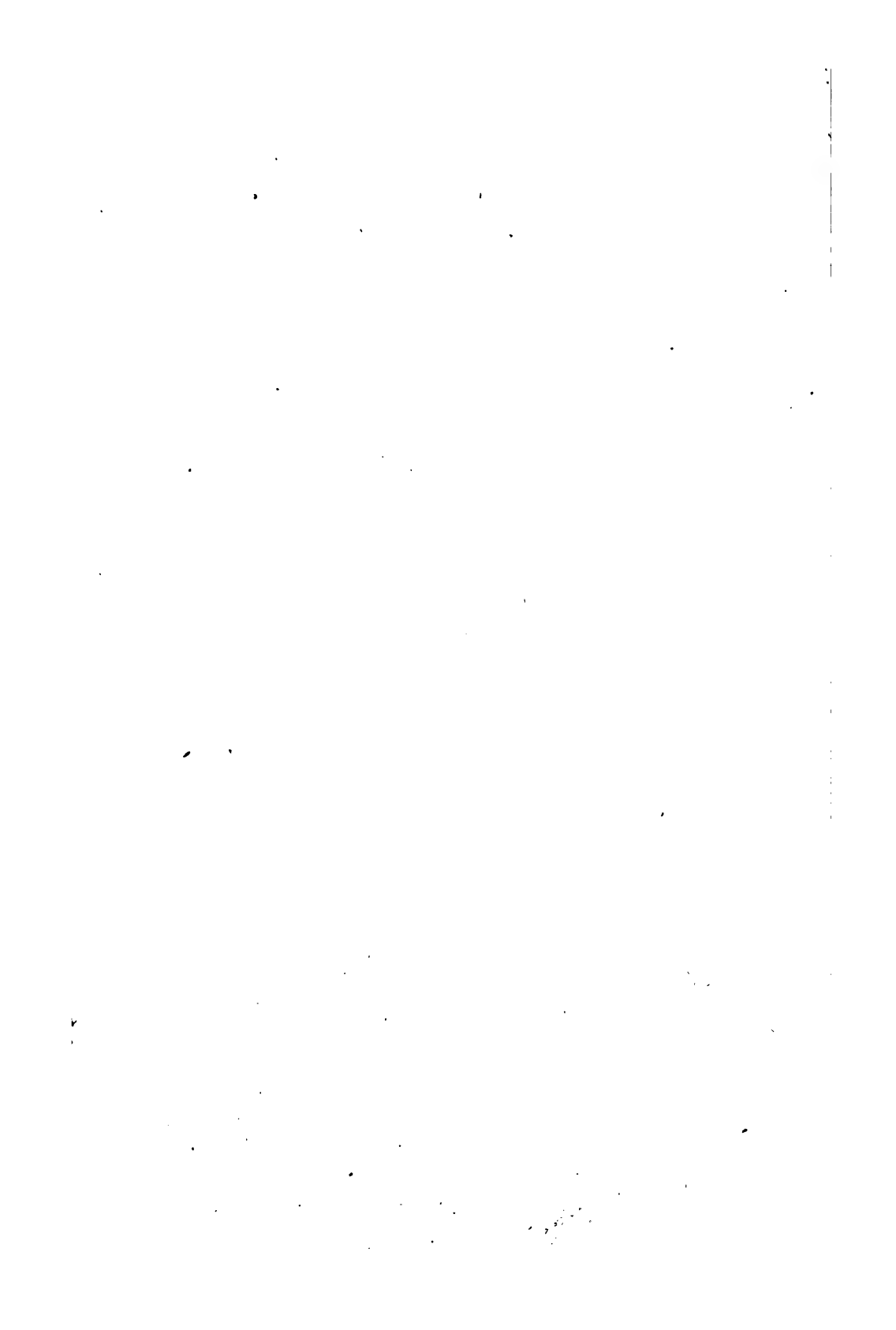
Θεωκλ. Ευγγρ. Β. λδ'.

ΕΝ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν χειμῶνι, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸ πατρῴων  
νόμων χράμενοι, δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐν  
τῷδε πρὸ πολέμου περὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντων, πρὸς τῶν τοιῶνδε τὰ  
μὲν ὅσα περὶ τῶν ἀποθανόντων, περὶ τῶν σκεπτικῶν  
5 ποίησαντες, καὶ ὑπερέχει πρὸ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἢ τι βέληται·  
ἐπειδὴν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ἦ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσίας ἀγυ-  
σσι ἁμαξῶν, φυλῆς ἕκαστης μίαν. εἴησι δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἦς  
ἕκαστος ἢ φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίτη κεινὴ φέρεται ἐτραμμένη  
πρὸς ἀφαιῶν, οἱ δὲ μὴ εὐρεθῶσι ἐς ἀταίρεσιν. ξυμειφέρει  
10 δὲ ὁ βυβλόμβρος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων. καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεσιν  
αἱ περὶ τὸν τάφον, ὀλοφυσμέναι. πιδέασιν  
οὕτω ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ὅστις ὅτι τῶν καλλίστων περὶ  
σπύης τῆς πόλεως. (καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῇ θάπηνται τῆς ἐκ  
πρὸς πολέμου, πληθύνει τῆς ἐν Μαρμαρῶνι. ἐκείνῳ δὲ 2/3-  
15 ὁρμητῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναιτες, αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τάφον ἐποιήσαν.)

Α

ἐπειδὴν







#### 4 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Χρόματα γὰρ πολιτεία ἔχει ἡλικίᾳ οὖν τῶν πέλεις νό-  
 μους, ὡς δὲ δεικνύει τὸ αὐτοὶ μάλλον ὅτις τισὶν, ἢ μιμνῶ-  
 μενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὅνομα μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ολίγους ἀλλ'  
 ἐς πλείους οἰκῆν, Δημοκρατία κέκληται. μέντοι γὰρ, καὶ  
 μὲν τὸ νόμος, ὡς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, καὶ 5  
 δὲ πῶς ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ  
 μένους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται·  
 οὐδ' αὖ καὶ πέναι, ἔχον δὲ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι πῶς πόλιν,  
 ἀξιόμαχος ἀφανεία κεκάλυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πόλις  
 τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀλλήλους τῶν 10  
 κατ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύματων ὑποφίαν, οὐ δὲ ὀργῆς τὸν  
 πέλας, εἰ κατ' ἡδομήν τι δρᾶν, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν,  
 λυπηρὰς γὰρ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀχθόμενους προσιδέμενοι ἀνεπαχθῶς  
 δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσμιμνήσκουσιν, τὰ δημόσια ἀλλὰ δέουσι μά-  
 λιστα ἔχειν νομίζουσιν, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὅταν ἀκροάσθαι, 15  
 καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν  
 ἀδικουμένων κείνῃ, καὶ ὅσοι ἀγεραφοὶ ὄντες αἰσχύνῃ ὁμολογῶ-  
 μένῃ φέρουσιν.

Καὶ μὴ καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείους ἀναπαύσας τῇ γνάμῃ  
 ἐποείσαμεθα, ἀλλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ θυσίαις διηθητοῖς νομίζου- 20  
 ντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατὰ σκοδαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν κατ' ἡμέραν ἢ  
 τέρψιν τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπιστέρχεται δὲ ἀλλὰ μέ-  
 γαλον τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα· καὶ ξυμ-  
 βαίνει ἡμῶν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτῷ ἀγα-  
 θὰ.

Τῶν Παλαιῶν,

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ, ΛΥΣΙΟΥ,

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ, ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΙ.



ΕΝ ΟΞΟΝΙΑ.

ΕΤΙ ΑΨΞΝ'



202. 4. 44.

## 6 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Καὶ ἂν τε τέτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαι εἶναι γαυμάζεσθαι, καὶ  
 ἔτι οἱ ἄλλοις φιλοχελῶμεν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐταλείας, καὶ  
 φιλοσοφούμεεν ἀνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἐν  
 καιρῷ ἢ λόγῳ κόμπῳ χράμεθα· καὶ ὁ πέπλος ἔχῃ ὁμο-  
 λογεῖν τῇ αἰσχρῇ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀσφράγιον ἔργῳ, αἴσχιον. 5  
 Ἐν τε ταῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκίῃσι ἅμα καὶ πολιταῖσι ὁπμιέμεθα, καὶ  
 ἐπέροις περὶ ἔργα πεπραμμένους, τὰ πολιτικά μὴ ἐνδιῶς  
 γινώσκαι· μόνον γὰρ τοῖς τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχουσιν, ἐκ ἀκράτ-  
 μισι ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κένομεν γὰρ ἢ  
 εὐθυμώμεθα ὁρῶντες τὰ πρᾶγματα, καὶ τὴν λόγους τοῖς ἑρ- 10  
 γοῖς βλάπτει ἡγεύμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ δαχθῆναι μᾶλλον  
 λόγῳ πρῶτον ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ δὲ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. ἀσφραγίστας γὰρ  
 ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸδε ἔχομεν, ὅτε τολμᾷ τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ  
 περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειροῦμεν, ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμα-  
 γία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὅκτιον φέρει. κερτίστιοι δ' αὖτε 15  
 τῇ ψυχῇ δικαίως κρινεῖν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέ-  
 στατα γινώσκοντες, καὶ ἀφ' ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ  
 τῶν κινδύνων. Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἡγουμένετα τοῖς πολ-  
 λαῖς· καὶ γὰρ πάγοντες εἴ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες, κτάμεθα τὴν φί-  
 λους· βεβαιότερος ἢ ὁ δρῶντας τὴν χάριν, ὅτε ὀφειλομένη 20  
 δι' εὐνοίας ὧς δίδωκε σύζευσι· ὁ δ' ἀνδοφύλων ἀμβλύτῳ,  
 εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδάσκει.  
 καὶ μῆτοι οὐ τῷ συμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ, ἢ τῆς ἐλδο-  
 θερίας καὶ πιστῷ ἀδίκῳ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα.

Ξυμελόν

# ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ. 7

Ζευιλόν τε λέγω, τήν τε πᾶσαι πόλιν ἢ Ἑλλάδα  
 παίδουσι εἶ), καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δεκτὴν αἰ μοι τ' αὐτὸν αἰδρα  
 πρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖς εἶδη, καὶ μὲν χεῖρτον μάλισ' αἰ ἐν  
 τραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐτάρκεις πρήχουσαι καὶ ὡς ἐ λόγων  
 5 αἰ τῶ παρόντι κόμπου ταῖδε μαῶλλον ἢ ἔρῶν ὅστιν ἀλήθεια,  
 αἴτη ἡ δύναμις ἢ πῶλεως ἦν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν πρῶτων ἐκ-  
 τησάμεθα, σημαίνῃ. μόνη γὰρ τ' νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσει ἐς πῆ-  
 ραν ἔρχῃ) καὶ μόνη οὔτε φ' πολέμῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτη-  
 σι ἔχῃ ἐφ' οἷον κακοπαθῇ, οὔτε τῶ ὑπικνῶ καταμέμψῃ  
 10 ὡς ἔχ' ὑπ' ἀξίῳ ἀρχῇ) μὲν μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ  
 ἐ δῆτοι ἀμάρτυρον γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν παραχρῆμτοι, τοῖς τε  
 νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἐπειτα θυμασσομένοις καὶ ὅσῳ περσοδέομενοι  
 οὔτε Ομήρου ἐπαιέτω, οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεισι μὲν ποσειδάων τέρψῃ,  
 τ' δ' ἔρῶν τ' ὑπὸ νοῖαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλέψῃ) ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι  
 15 μὲν γάλασαν καὶ γλῶν ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ τόλμῃ χεῖρα-  
 χέσαντες θμῆαζο, πανταχοῦ τ' μνημεῖα χερῶν τε καὶ γὰρ  
 αἰδρα ζυγχετακίσαντες. πῶς τοιαύτης οἷον πῶλεως οἶδε  
 τε θμναίως, δικαίῳντες μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτῇ, μαχόμενοι  
 ἐπελθόντες, καὶ τ' λειπομέων πόματα πᾶς εἰκὸς ἐθέλει  
 20 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κέμνειν.

Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ πῶς ἢ πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν  
 τε ποιούμενοι μὴ πῶς ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς  
 πᾶσι μνητὴν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως, καὶ τ' εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς  
 νῦν λέγω φέρμεθα σημείους καθιστάς. καὶ ἐρῇ) αὐτῆς τὰ  
 μέγιστα.

μέγιστα. ἂν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε  
 ἀρετῶν ἐκόσμησαν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσόρρο-  
 πῶν, ὥσπερ τῶνδε, ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φαίνεται. δοκᾷ δέ  
 μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν, περὶ τὴν μιν ὑμῶν, καὶ τελευ-  
 ταία βεβαιῶσα, ἣ νῦν τῶνδε χαλκωτοῦσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς 5  
 πᾶσι χεῖρες δίκαιοι τὴν ἐς τὰς πολέμους. ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 πατρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν περὶ τὴν ἀγαθὴν γὰρ κακὸν  
 ἀφανίσαντες, κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν, ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας  
 ἐβλάψαν. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πολοῦτε τίς τιμὴ ἔτι σπλάχυσιν  
 περὶ τὴν ἑμῶν, οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ 10  
 ἀφροσύνης αὐτῶν πλεονέχουσι, ἀναβολὴν τῆς δεινῆς ἐποιή-  
 σατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐνδομίων τιμωρίας πολεμότεραν αὐτῶν  
 λαβόντες, καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τῶνδε χάλλισιν νομίσαντες,  
 ἠβλάθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφείσθαι.  
 ἐλπίδι μὲν ὁ ἀφροσύνης τῆς χαλκωτοῦσθαι ἔπι τῆς ἐφροσύνης, ἔργω 15  
 τῶν δὲ ἤδη ὁρῶντες σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦσθαι πεποιθέναι· καὶ  
 ἐν αὐτῶν δὲ ἀμυνάσθαι καὶ παθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἡγοσάμενοι, ἢ  
 περὶ ἐνδομίων σώζεσθαι, ὅ μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἔστι λόγος ἔφυγον, ὁ  
 δὲ ἔργον δὲ σώματι ὑπόμενον, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου χειρὸς  
 τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς δόξης ἀπὸ πηλᾶ- 20  
 γησαν.

Καὶ οἷός τις μὲν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος ἐφροσύνης τῶν  
 δὲ λοιπὸν χρηρὴς ἀσφαλετέραν μὲν εἶχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν  
 τῶν μὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν ἐς τὰς πολέμους ἀφροσύνας ἔχει, σφ-  
 πάντας



πᾶσι μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τ' ἀφέλῃαι· ἢ αἱ τις πρὸς οὐδὲν  
 χεῖρον αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς εἰδὼτας μὲνῶν, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τῆς  
 πολεμίου ἀμύνασθαι ἀγαθὰ ἐνεστίν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς  
 πόλεως δόναμιν κατ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωρῶντες, καὶ ἐρατὰς  
 5 γιγνομένους αὐτῆς. καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξα εἴηαι, ἐ-  
 θυμερμένοις ὅτι πολυῶντες, καὶ γνωσκόσιες τὰ δέοντα, καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκλήσαντο· καὶ ὅποτε  
 καὶ πείρα τῆ σφαλείῃσαν, οὐκ οὐ καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τὴ σφε-  
 τέραι ἀρετῆς ἀξιούντες στείλῃεν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ  
 10 περὶέμενοι· κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τ' ἀγῆ-  
 ρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ὀπσιμώτατον, οὐκ  
 οὐδ' ὅτι κέντα μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ  
 εὐτυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καίῃαι κατα-  
 λείπει. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὀπιδόμων πᾶσα γῆ τείφει, καὶ ἔστι  
 15 λαὸν μόνον οὐ τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνῃ ὀπιδραφῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 μὴ περσιπούσῃ ἀγροφῇ μνήμη παρ' ἐχάσῳ τῆς γνώμης  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἔστι ἔργῳ ἐνδαιτύεται. οὐς πῦν ὑμεῖς ζήλωσαιτες,  
 καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἡ ἐλδύθερον, τὸ εὐφρον  
 κρίναντες, μὴ περσιθε τῆς πολεμικῆς κινδύνους. καὶ γὰρ  
 20 ὁ κακοπραγούνης δικαιοτέρῳ ἀφειδίει ἀν' αὐτῷ βίου, οἷς  
 ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστι ἀγαθῷ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐνδουσία μεταβολὴ οὐ  
 τὸ ζῆν ἐτι κινδυνεύεται, καὶ οὐδ' οἷς μάλιστα μέγαλα τὰ  
 ἀφαιρόντα, ἢ τι πλάσωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρί γε  
 φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἢ οὐ τὸ μὲν τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις,

# 10 ΠΕΡΙ ΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥόμῃς καὶ κοίτῃς ἐλπίδι· ἅμα γιγνόμεν·  
ἀναιδέως θάνατι·

Διόπερ καὶ τοὺς πᾶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρετε, οὐκ  
ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ μὲν ἡσυχίᾳ. ὃ πολυτρόποις  
ῥῶ ξυμφοραῖς ὁπταῖται) τραπεύετε. τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἱ ἀνδ  
τῆς ἐνπεπεσμένης χάριτος, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲ νῦν, πελοπῆς,  
ὑμεῖς ἢ λύπῃς· καὶ ὃ οἷς ἐνδεδαιμονήσασθε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως  
καὶ ἐντελευτήσασθε ξυμμετρήσῃ. χαλεπὸν μὲ οἶον οἶδα πεί-  
θειν ὅτι, ὅτι καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων  
εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη ἔχ  
10 ὅτι ἀν τις μὴ περὶ σάμῃς ἀγαθῶν περὶ σκεπταί, ἀλλ' ἔ  
ἀν ἐπὶ τῇ θνήσκῃ ἀφαιρεθείη. καρτερῆν ἢ χρὴ ἔ  
ἄλλων  
παίδων ἐλπίδι, οἷς ἐπὶ ἡλικίᾳ τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι. ἰδίᾳ τε  
ῥῶ τῇ οὐκ ὄντων λήθῃ (α) ὁπτιγνόμενοι ποῖν ἔσονται· καὶ  
τῇ πόλῃ διχόθεν, ἔα τε τῷ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι, καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ 15  
ξυνοίσειν. ἔ ῥῶ οἷον τε ἴσόν τι ἢ δίκαιον βυλδύεσθαι οἱ ἀν  
μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ὡδὲ βαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν.  
ὅσοι δ' αὖ πρὸς ἡγήσασθε, τὸν τε πλείονα, κέρδος ὅτι, εὐτυ-  
χεῖτε βίον· ἠγεῖσθε καὶ τὸνδε βραχυῶ ἔσεται, καὶ τῇ πᾶνδε  
εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθε. ὃ ῥῶ φιλόπομον ἀνθρώπων μόνον· καὶ ἔκ 20  
ὃ τῷ ἀχρεΐᾳ τῇ ἡλικίας τὸ καρδαίνεον, ὥσπερ πινες φασί,  
μᾶλλον τέρεφει, ἀλλὰ ὃ πᾶσιν.

Παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι πᾶνδε πάρετε, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς, ὅρα μέ-  
γαν τὸ ἀγῶνα. τὸν ῥῶ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἶωθεν ἐπαγεῖν. καὶ  
μέγας

# Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ. 11

μάλισ' ἂν χεῖρ' ὑπερφολὴν ἀρετῆς ἔχ' ὅμοιοι ἄλλ' ὀλίγω  
 χείροισι κριθείητε. φθότος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντίπα-  
 λους ὅς τ' μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀναβλαψίτης εὐνοία τυτμήσῃ.

Εἰ δέ με δὴ καὶ γυναικείας τὴν ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χρεῖα  
 ἔϊστοίαι, μεταστῆσαι, βραχείᾳ παρανήσῃ ἅπαν σημαίῃ. ὅ-  
 τε γὰρ ὑπαρχύσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι θηέσθῃ, ὑμῶν μεγάλη  
 ἡ δόξα, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέει ἢ ψόγῳ οἱ  
 τοῖς ἄρσενι κλέος ἦ.

Εἴρη) καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ χεῖρ' ἢ νόμοι ὅσα ἔχουσι περὶ σφοδρά-  
 ρα καὶ ἔργα, οἱ θαυμάσιοι, τὰ μὲν, ἥδη κεκόσμηται· τὰ δὲ,  
 αὐτῶν πᾶν παῖδας τὸ σπὸς τῶνδε δημοσίων ἢ πόλεις μέχρ' ἵ-  
 ῃς θρέψῃ, ἀφελίμοι γέγονον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομέ-  
 νοις πᾶν τοῖσδε ἀγόνων περὶθεῖσαι. ἀθάλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται  
 ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖσδε καὶ ἄνδρες ἀειστοὶ πολιτεύουσι. ἦν δὲ  
 ἀπολοφρεσάμενοι ὅν περὶ σπῆκεν ἐκάστω, ἀπτε.

# ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

## ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ,

Η,

### ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ.

**Ε**ξ ἀρχαῖς, ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; ΜΕ. Εξ ἀρχαῖς,  
ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλευτήκειας. ΣΩ. Τί  
μάλιστα σὺ πρὸς βασιλευτήκειαν; ἢ δηλαδὴ ὅτι παιδεύσεως  
καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τέλει ἦγῃ (εἶ); καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρὸς ἤδη ἔχων,  
ἐπὶ ταῖς μέγιστοis ὅτινοis τρέπεσθαι; καὶ ἄρχειν ἡμῶν, ὦ  
θαυμάσιε, ὅτι χειρεῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τηλικαῦτόν ὄν,  
ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ἡμῶν ἡ οἰκία ἀεί τινα ἡμῶν ὅτιμελητῶν  
πρὸς ἡμῶν; ΜΕ. Εὰν σύγῃ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔα καὶ συμ-  
βουλεύῃ ἄρχειν, πρὸς ἡμῶν; εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐ. Νυνὶ μένοι  
ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸ βασιλευτήκειαν, πυθόμενοι ὅτι ἡ βασιλ<sup>10</sup>  
μέλλει αἰρεῖσθαι ὅστις ἐρῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανόντι. ταφὰς γὰρ  
οἶδ' ὅτι μέλλουσι ποιεῖν. ΣΩ. Πάντῃ. Ἀλλὰ τίνα εἴ-  
λοντο; ΜΕ. Οὐδέν. Ἀλλὰ ἀνέβαντο εἰς τὴν αὔριον  
οἶμα ἰσχυροὶ Ἀρχῶν ἢ Δίονα αἰρεθήσεσθαι. ΣΩ. Καί  
μιν, ὦ Μενέξενε, πολλαχόθεν κινδυνεύει χαλόν (εἶ) τὸ ἐν<sup>15</sup>

πολέμῳ

πολέμῳ ὑποθήσκει· καὶ ᾧ ταφῆς χαλῆς τε καὶ μεγα-  
 λοπρεπῶς τυγχάνῃ· καὶ ἐὰν πέπης τις ὦν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ  
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ αὖ ἔτυχῃ· καὶ ἐὰν φαῦλος ᾖ, ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν τε  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐκῇ ἐπαινοῦνται, ἀλλὰ ὅκ πολλοὶ χρόνους λόβους  
 5 παρεσκευασμένων· οἱ οὕτω χαλῶς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ  
 προσόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ δεῖ ἐκαστὸν λέγοντες, κάλλιστα πως  
 τοῖς ὀνόμασι ποικίλλοντες, γρησκύουσιν ἡμῖν τὰς ψυχὰς,  
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκαυμάζουσιν καὶ πάντας τρύποις, ἐς τὸς  
 τελευτηκότες ὅτι τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τοῖς τροχίοις ἡμῖν  
 10 ἄπαντας τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ ζῴ-  
 ναι ἐπαποῦντες. ὥς· ἔγωγε, ὦ Μενέξενε, θηναίως πάν-  
 τ' ἀγαπήματα, ἐπαυόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐκαστοὶ ἔσκα-  
 ἀροόμενοι καὶ κηλούμενοι, ἡρώμενοι ὅτι τῷ παραχρήμα  
 μείζων καὶ θηναϊότερος καὶ χαλλίῳ γενεῖται. καὶ οἷα δὴ  
 15 τὰ πολλὰ αἰὲς μετ' ἐμοῦ ξένοι πινὲς ἐπίσταν καὶ ξυσακρόων-  
 ται· ὥς οὐκ ἐγὼ σεμνότερος ὅτι τῷ παραχρήμα γίνο-  
 μεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι ταυτὰ πάντα δοκῶσιν μοι πάσχειν  
 καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, θαυμασιωτέραν  
 αὐτῇ ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ἢ πρὸς τὸν πόλιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λέγοντο  
 20 ἀναπειδόμενοι· καὶ μοι αὕτη ἡ σεμνότης παραμυθία ἡμέ-  
 ρας πλείω ἢ πρὸς· οὕτως ἑαυτοὺς ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγος  
 ὥς τὸ λέγοντο ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥστε μόγις τε-  
 τάρτη ἢ πέμπτη ἡμέρα ἀναμνησκόμεθα ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ αἰ-  
 δάμεθα οὐ γὰρ εἰμὶ· τέως δὲ οἶμαι μοιστοῦν ὅτι μαχάραν  
 τῆσιν



ἡσίοις οἰκεῖν. οὕτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοὶ εἰσὶ. ΜΕ. Αὐεῖ  
 σὺ τρασαίεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς ῥήτορας· νῦν μέντοι  
 οἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν αἰρεθέντα ἔπειν εὐπορήσειν. εἰς ὑπογίγνῃ  
 γὰρ πάντας πᾶσιν ἡ αἵρεσις γένηται· ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσῃ  
 ἔλεγον ὥσπερ αὐτοχρδιάζειν. ΣΩ. Πόθεν, ὦ γαδὲ; εἰσὶν  
 ἐκάστοις τέτων λόγῳ παρεσκευασμένοι· καὶ ἅμα ὅσθι αὐτο-  
 χρδιάζειν τά γε τοιαῦτα χαλεπόν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύο Ἀθηναῖους  
 ἐν Πελοπονησίοις εὖ λέγειν, ἢ Πελοπονησίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις,  
 ἀγαθοῦ ἀνὴρ ῥήτορ· δύο τοῦ πέσοντος καὶ εὐδοκμήσοντος  
 ὅταν δέ τις ἐν τέτοις ἀγωνίζηται ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπαίνῃ, ὅσθι 10  
 μέγα δοκῇ εὖ λέγειν. ΜΕ. Οὐκ οἶδ', ὦ Σώκρατες; ΣΩ.  
 Οὐ μέντοι, μὰ Δία. ΜΕ. Ἡ οἷε οἷός τ' εἶναι αὐτός.  
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δύο, καὶ ἔλοιτό σε ἡ βουλή; ΣΩ. Καὶ ἐμοὶ  
 μέν γε, ὦ Μειέξενε, ὅσθι θαυμαστὸν, οἷα τ' εἶναι εἰπεῖν, ὅ  
 τυγχάνη διδάσκαλος οὔσα οὐ πάλυ φαύλη πρὸς ῥητορικῆς, 15  
 ἀλλ' ἥπερ καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε ῥήτορας,  
 εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἀμφέροντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Περικλέα τὸν Ξαν-  
 θίππου. ΜΕ. Τίς αὕτη; ἢ δηλονότι Λαλασίαν λέγεις;  
 ΣΩ. Λέγω γάρ· καὶ Κόνον γε τὸν Μητροβίβ. ἔτι γάρ  
 μοι δύο εἰσὶ διδάσκαλοι· ὁ μὲν μουσικῆς ἡ δὲ ῥητορικῆς. 20  
 οὕτω μὲν οὕτω πρεφόμενον ἄνδρα ὅσθι θαυμαστὸν δεινὸν εἶναι  
 λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοὶ κάκιον ἐπαιδεύθη, μουσικῶ  
 μὲν ὑπὸ Λάμπρου παιδοδιδάξας, ῥητορικῶ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντι-  
 φωνί· τῷ Ράμνησί, ὅμως καὶ ἔστος οἷός τ' εἶναι Ἀθηναῖος

γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπακῶν εὐδοκμεῖν. ΜΕ. Καὶ τί αὖ ἔχουσιν  
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι σε λέγειν; ΣΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν πρῶτον ἑμμαντοδ-  
 ῶτως ὠδῶν. Ἀσπασίας, δὲ καὶ χθὲς ἠεροῶμην, περιανύσσης  
 ὀπιτάφιοι λόγον περ αὐτῆς τούτου. ἤκουσε γὰρ ἄπερ σὺ  
 5 λέξεις, ὅτι μέλλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι αἰρεῖσθαι ἑρῶντα. ἔπειτα τὰ  
 μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὀδυρᾶτος μοι διήψ, οἷα δέοι λέγειν, τὰ δὲ,  
 περὶ τῶν ἐσκεμμένων ὅτε, μοι δοκῶ, σιωπῆσαι τὸν ὀπι-  
 τάφιοι λόγον ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε, περιλείμματ' ἄλλα ἔξ  
 ἐκείνης συλλογῶσα. ΜΕ. Ἡ καὶ μνημοεύσαις αὖ ἀε-  
 10 γει Ἀσπασία; ΣΩ. Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε. ἑμάνθανόν γε τοι  
 πρῶτον αὐτῆς καὶ ὀλίγα πληρὰς ἔλαβον ὅτι ἐπελεπθανόμενον.  
 ΜΕ. Τί θ' ἔδῃλγες; ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ μοι χαλεπαῖ  
 ἡ διδάσκαλος, αὖ ἔξετέγκω αὐτῆς τὸν λόγον. ΜΕ. Μη-  
 δαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἄλλ' εἰπέ, καὶ πάνυ μοι χαλεπῶν, εἴτε  
 15 Ἀσπασίας βουλὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ὅτι οὐκ. ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπέ.  
 ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ἴσως μου χαταγέλῃ, αὖ σοι δόξω, περισβύ-  
 τῃς ὦν, ἐπὶ παύσειν. ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἄλλ'  
 εἰπέ παντὶ πρόσωπον. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι σοὶ γε δὴ χαλε-  
 ζοῦμαι ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγου, εἰ με κελύβοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχή-  
 20 σαίῃ, χειροαίμην αὖ, ἐπειδὴ γε μόνον ἐσμέν. Ἄλλ' ἄκου.  
 ἔλεγε γὰρ ὡς ἐγώ μιν, ἀρξαμένη λέγειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῶν  
 παλαιῶν, ὅπως.

ΕΡΓΩ, μὴ ἡμῶν εἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ πρῶτα σφίσι  
 αὐτοῖς· (αἱ τυχόντες παύονται τῇ εὐμαρδίῃ πορείᾳ,  
 προπεμφθέντες κοῦή μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν οἰκείων) λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λειπόμηνον πόρρον ὃ, τί νόμος  
 πρῶτα τῆς ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρή· ἔργον γὰρ οὗτος  
 πρῶτα γίνεσθαι, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μήμηρ καὶ κόσμος τοῖς  
 πρῶτα γίνεσθαι πρῶτα τῶν ἀκουσάντων. δὲ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν  
 πρὸς λόγον, ὅτις τὰς μὲν τελειοποιεῖται, ἵκανος ἐπαπείσ-  
 ται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς πρῶτα· οὐκ ἔστι μὲν καὶ  
 ἀδελφοῖς μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν παρακελεύομενος· πα- 10  
 τέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ εἴ τις τῶν ἀνῶν ἐπὶ πρῶτον  
 λείπονται, τέττοις δὲ παραμυθούμενος. Τίς οὖν αἱ ἡμῶν  
 τοῦτο λόγος φαίνεται; ἢ πόθεν αἱ ὁρῶντες ἀρξάμεθα ἀν-  
 δρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαπείντες, οἱ ζῶντες τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν εὐφραι-  
 νον δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ζώντος σωτηρίας 15  
 ἡλλάξαντο;

Δοκῶ μοι χρῆται, καὶ φέροι, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἐθέλουσιν, ἔπει-  
 καὶ ἐπαπείν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φιλοῦναι ἐξ  
 ἀγαθῶν καὶ εὐφραίνειν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐγκωμιάζομεν·  
 δεύτερον γὰρ, προσφῶν τε καὶ παιδεύειν· ὅτι δὲ τέτοις, τῇ 20  
 τῶν ἔργων πρῶτον ἐπιδείξομεν, ὥς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τῶν  
 ἀπεφῆσαντο.

Τῆς δ' εὐφραμίας πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἡ τῶν προγόνων  
 ἡμέσις, οὐκ ἐπιπλεῖς οὖσα, ὅθεν τὴν οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως  
 φημι μὲν

φησαμένη μεθικύνθαι, ὡς τῇ χάρι, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ πρὸ ὅτι ὡς πατρὶδι οἰκούντας καὶ  
 ζῶντας· καὶ πεφοιμένους ὅς ἐκ ὑπὸ μητρὸς, ὡς ἄλλοι,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς, τῆς χάρις ὡς ἡ ὥκου· καὶ πῃ κεί-  
 5 ναι τελειότησιν, ὡς οἰκείαις τόποις ὅς τεύξεως ἐν θρε-  
 ψαίσης καὶ ὑποδεξαμένης. Διχαίότατοι δὲ κοσμήσαι  
 ᾤοντο τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ  
 ἡ πότις εὐφροσύνη κοσμουμένη. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χάρις καὶ  
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαυνοῦν, ὡς μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολ-  
 10 λαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, ᾤοντο ὅτι καὶ μέγιστοι, ὅτι τυχεῖται  
 οὕτω θεοφιλῆς. μαρτυρῇ ὅτι ἡμῶν πρὸ λόγῳ, ἡ πῶν ἀμφισ-  
 βητησάντων ᾤοντο αὐτῆς. Θεῶν ἔστι τε ἐν κρίσει. ἢ ὅτι Θεὸς  
 ἐπίνεσται, πῶς οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων διχαί-  
 ἐπαυνοῦνται; Δεύτερον δὲ ἔπαινος διχαίως ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς εἶη,  
 15 ὅτι ὡς οἰκείῳ πρὸ χρόνῳ ὡς ὅτι ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδε καὶ ἔφυ-  
 ζῶα παύδαπα, θηρία τε καὶ βοτάνη, ὡς τῶν ἡμετέρων,  
 θηρίων μὲν ἀγρίων ἀγροῦ καὶ κτηνῶν ἐφάνη· ἐξελέξατο ὅτι  
 τῶν ζώων καὶ ἐθήνησεν ἀνθρώπων, ὅς συνέσει τε ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν  
 ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ Θεοῦς μόνον νομίζῃ. μέγα δὲ τεκμή-  
 20 ριον τῶν λόγων, ὅτι ἡδὲ ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ ὅτι τῶν πᾶν τε καὶ  
 ἡμετέρων. ᾤοντο γὰρ ὅτι τὸν πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἔχῃ ὅτι  
 τηδεῖται ὡς ἀνὴρ τέκῃ. ὡς καὶ γὰρ δὴν τεκῶσα τε ἀληθῶς,  
 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, εἰς μὴ ἔχῃ πηγὰς τρε-  
 φῆς πρὸ θρομῆας. ὅς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ

## \*\* ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ.

Μυριάσσι ποτὲ τῇδε πρηνεσσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
 Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

• • • • •

ὦ ξῆν', ἄλγεῖλοι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε  
 Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

• • • • •

Μῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγίστα, ὅι ποτε Μῆδοι  
 Σπερχεῖον πῶτα μὲν κτεῖναι ἀμειψόμενοι,  
 Μάντιος· ὅς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένης σάφα εἰδώς,  
 Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας πωλεῖν.

• • • • •

Τῶν δ' ὁ Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
 Εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂν τύχη, καλὸς δ' ὁ  
 Πότμος, βωμὸς δ' ὁ πάθος  
 Περσέωντος μῆστις ὁ δ' οἶτος  
 Ἐπαῖνος. εἰσάφισεν γὰρ τοῖς τούτοις  
 Οὐτ' εὐρὸς, οὐδ' ὁ πανθαλάσσιος  
 Ἀμαυράσι χρότος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.  
 ὃ γὰρ σπικὸς οἰκετῶν εὐδοξίαν·  
 Ἑλλάδος εἰσαὶ μαρτυρὴ γὰρ Λαονόδου  
 Ὁ Σπάρτῃ βασιλεὺς, ἀρετῆς μέγας  
 Δειλοπύς κόσμον, ἀντιόητε κλέος.

Υ Π Ο Θ Ε Σ Ι Σ  
ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Θεωδ. Ξυγγρ. Β. λδ'.

ΕΝ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν χειμῶν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸ πατρῴου νόμου χρώμενοι, δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποίησαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε πρὸ πολέμου πεσόντων ἀποθανόντων, τῷδ' αὖτε ταῖς μὲν ὅσ᾽ αὖτε περὶ τῶν ἀπογινόμενων, περὶ τῶν σκηνῶν ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἑκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἔχαστος ἢ τι βέλκται· ἐπειδὴν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ἦ, λάρνακας κύπελαισιν ἀγύσσον ἅμαξαι, φυλῆς ἑκάστης μίαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ὅσ᾽ αὖτε ἑκάστος ἢ φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίνη κατὰ φέρεται ἐστραμένη τῶν ἀφαιῶν, οἱ δὲ μὴ εὐρεθῶσι ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. Ξυνοκφέρει 5 δὲ ὁ βυλόμηνος καὶ ἀστὴν καὶ ξένων. καὶ γυναῖκες παρέεισι αἱ περὶ τὸν τάφον, ὀλοφρυνόμεναι. πιδέσθαι οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ὅτιν' ἐπὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ περὶ τῆς πόλεως. (καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτεται τὸς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε τὸς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. ἐκείνων δὲ ἀφ' 15 ὧν περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναι, αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τάφον ἐποίησαν.)

Α

ἐπειδὴν

## 2 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ἐπειδὴν δὲ κρύψωσι γῆ, ἀνὴρ ἱρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πό-  
λεως, ὅς ἀν γνῶμη τι δοκῇ μὴ ἀξιώετος εἶναι, καὶ ἀξιά-  
ματι θεωρήκη, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν ἀρέποντα.  
μετὰ δὲ τῷτο ἀπέρχονται. ὧδε μὲν γὰρ ἴσιν· καὶ ἀφ' ὧ  
παυτὸς τῷ πολέμῳ, ὁπότε ξυμβαίη αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶτο τῷ  
νόμῳ. ὅτι δ' οὖν τοῖς θεωροῖς τοῖςδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξαν-  
θίππυς ἤρεθι λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, θεωρελ-  
θὼν ὑπὸ τῷ σήματι ὅτι βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως  
ἀκούει ὡς ὅτι πλεῖστον τῷ ὁμίλῳ, ἔλεγε τοιαῦτα.

10

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ πολλοὶ τ' ἐθάδε ἦν εἰρηκότων ἐπαυῖσι τ'  
θεωρεῖντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς κελεῖν ὅτι τοῖς  
ὅκ τῶν πολέμων γαπιδόμοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ δ'  
ἀν ἀρκούν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ θρομβύων, ἔργῳ  
καὶ δηλοῦσθαι ταῖς τιμαῖς, αἷα καὶ πῦν παρ' ἧ τὰφοι τόνδε 15  
δημοσίᾳ πῶς σκοδαιόεντα ὁρᾷτε· καὶ μὴ εἰ ἐνὶ ἀνδρῶν  
πολλῶν ἀρεταῖς κινδυνεύειν, ὥστε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπὼντι περὶ  
σῆμα. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὅ μετέως εἰπῶν, εἰ ὅ μάλιστα καὶ ἡ  
δόκησις τ' ἀληθείας βεβαιῶται· ὅ, τε γὰρ ξυμειδῶς ἐ εὐνὸς  
ἀκροατῆς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδεέστερος πρὸς αὐτὴν βυβλίαι τε καὶ ὅτι 20  
ἐστὶ νομίσαι δηλοῦσθαι· ὅ, τε ἀπειρος, ὅτι αὐτὸ καὶ πλεονά-  
ζεσθαι, ἀφ' ὧ φθόνοι, εἰ τι ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἐαυτῷ φύσει ἀκούει  
μέγχει γὰρ τῷδε ἀπικτοῖ (1) ἔπαινοί εἰσι παρ' ἧ ἑτέρων λεγό-  
μενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἀν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχαστος οἴηται ἰσχυρὸς εἶναι) ἀρᾶ-  
σαί

# ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ. 3

θαί τι οἱ ἤκουσε· τῷ δ' ὑπεβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φροσύνης, ἥδη  
καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. Επειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαϊ ἔπαιε ἐδοκιμάσθη  
ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρηρὲς ἐμὲ ἐπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ, πε-  
ρᾶσθαι ἡμῶν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν  
5 αἵς ὀπιπλάεσσι.

Ἀρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν παρρησιῶν περὶ τῶν. Δίχασιν γάρ  
αὐτοῖς καὶ πέπεισιν δ' ἅμα οἱ τῷ τοῦδε τῇ τιμῇ ταύτῃ  
τῆς μήμενος δίδουσι, τὴν δ' ἔχειν αἰεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκῶν-  
τες, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηρομένων μέχρι τῶδε ἐλθόντες  
10 δι' ἀρετὴν πρὸςδοσιν. καὶ ἐκείνοι τὸ ἀξιοῦσι ἐπαίνου, καὶ ἐπὶ  
μαῖνοι ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν. κτησιόμοι δ' ἀπὸ οὗτος ἐδέ-  
ξοντο ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν, ἐκ δ' οὗτος ἡμῶν τοῖς πῶν προ-  
κατέλπει, τὰ δ' πλείονα αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμῶν οἶδε, οἱ πῶν ἐπὶ  
οἷος μάστιγι ἐν τῇ καθ' ἑσθ' ἡλικίᾳ, ἐπικύρησamen, καὶ  
15 τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι πρὸςκαθάσamen καὶ ἐς πύλεμον καὶ ἐς  
εἰρήνην αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς. Ὡς ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν καὶ πολέμους ἔργα,  
οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτέθην, ἢ εἴτι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν Βάρ-  
βαροι ἢ Ἕλληνα πόλεμον ὀπιόντα περὶ οὐκ ἡμεῖς ἀμείβαντες,  
μαχητοῦσι οἱ εἰδέναι ἢ βυλόμενοι, εἴσιν. ἀπὸ δ' οἷας  
20 τὴν ἐπιτηρομένην ἡλδομαι ἐκ' αὐτῶν, καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολί-  
τείας, καὶ τῶν καὶ ἐξ οἷων μεγάλην ἔχοντο, ταῦτα δηλώ-  
σαι περὶ τῶν, ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι ἐπαῖνον, νομίζω ὅτι  
τε ὅτι παρὲντι οὐκ ἀν' ἀρετῇ λεχθῆναι αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν πάντων  
ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ καὶ ξένων ξύμφορον εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπακῶσι.

Χρόμωτα



#### 4 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Χρόμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία ἡ ζήλοσιν οὖν τῶν πέλεις νό-  
 μους, πῶς δὲ αὐτοὶ μάλλον ὅτις τισὶν, ἢ μιμού-  
 μενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὅμοια μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ'  
 ἐς πλείους οἰκεῖν, Δημοκρατία κέκληται. μέντοι γὰρ, καὶ  
 μὲν τὸ νόμος, πῶς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, καὶ 5  
 δὲ πᾶσι ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίᾳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ  
 μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμάται·  
 οὐδ' αὖ καὶ πείθει, ἔχον δὲ πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν δοῦναι πᾶσι πᾶσι,  
 ἀξιώματα ἀφανεία καλύπτει. ἐλθόντες δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς  
 τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν, καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῆς 10  
 κατ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύεται ἡ πόλις, οὐ δ' ὀργῆς τὸν  
 πέλας, εἰ κατ' ἡδονήν τι δοῖν, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀξιώσεις μὲν,  
 λυπηρὲς γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ἀχθόμενοι προσιδέμενοι ἀνεπαχθῶς  
 δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσμολοῦντες, τὰ δημόσια ἀλλὰ δέουσα μά-  
 λις ἡ πόλις νομίζουσι, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκρόασις, 15  
 καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν  
 ἀδικουμένων κεν, καὶ ὅσοι ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες αἰσχύνῃ ὁμολογῶ-  
 μένῃ φέρουσι.

Καὶ μὴ καὶ τῶν πλείους ἀναπαύσεως τῇ γνώμῃ  
 ἐπορίσταμεθα, ἀλλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις νομίζου- 20  
 ντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατὰ σχολαῖς εὐπρεπέσι, ὡς κατ' ἡμέραν ἢ  
 τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπιστρέφει δὲ ἀλλὰ μέ-  
 γιστον τῆς πόλεως ὅσα πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα καὶ ξυμ-  
 βαίνει ἡμῶν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτῷ ἀγα-  
 θὰ

θά γηρόμνηα χαρπῶσθαι, ἢ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἄλλων ἀνδρά-  
πων.

Διαφέρει μὲν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν  
ἐκρυπτικῶν τοῖσδε. τῇ τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν πᾶν ἔχομεν, καὶ  
5 ὅτε ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπείργομεν πᾶσι ἢ μαθήματος, ἢ  
θεάματος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἀνὴρ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἰδὼν ἀφε-  
λθεῖν· πεπυόντες οὐ γὰρ πῶς ἀσκευαῖς τοπλεῖον καὶ ἀπά-  
ταις, ἢ ὅτε ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχωι. Καὶ ἐν  
ταῖς παιδείαις, ὅτε μὲν ὀλιγπύκνῳ ἀσκήσει, εὐδὺς νέοι ὄντες,  
10 τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἀπειρῶντες ἀφαισθημένοι,  
ὅσοι ἦσαν ὅτι τὸν ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χαρῶμεν. τεκμή-  
ριοι δὲ· οὕτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἑσθλῶς, μὲν πάντων  
δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύσας· τῇ τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ  
ἐπελθόντες, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς θεῖς τῶν  
15 οἰκείων ἀμυνομένων μαχόμενοι ταπείνως κρατῶμεν. ἀθρόα  
τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πῶς πολέμου ὀρέτυχε, ἀλλὰ  
τὴν ἑνὶ ναυπηγῶν τε ἅμα ὀπιμέλειαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ  
πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψεν. ἢ δὲ πᾶσι μορῶν πρὸς πορο-  
μίσσῳσι, κρατήσαντες τε πᾶσι ἡμῶν, πάντας αἰχμῶν ἀπεώ-  
20 σθαι· καὶ νικηθέντες, ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἡσυχάζειν. καίτοι εἰ βαθυ-  
μῆα μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη, καὶ μὴ μὲν νόμον τοπλεῖον  
ἢ πρὸς ἀνδρείας ἐθέλοισιν κινδυνεύειν, θεογένηται ἡμῶν  
τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ παροχθαίνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλ-  
θούσι, μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους ἢ αἰεὶ μοχθήσαντες φαίνοσθαι.

Καὶ

## 6 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

Καὶ εἰ τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζετε, καὶ  
 ἔτι οὐ ἄλλοις φιλοχελῶμεν τι γὰρ μετ' εὐταλείας, καὶ  
 φιλοσοφῶμεν ἀνευ μάλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἐν  
 καιρῷ ἢ λόγῳ κόμπῳ χράμεθα· καὶ ὁ πάντα ἔχ' ὁμο-  
 λογεῖν πρὶ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀφαιρῆναι ἔργῳ, αἴσχιον. 5  
 Ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκίῃσι ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ὀκτιμέλεια, καὶ  
 ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμυδῶναι, τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς  
 γινώσκαι· μέντοι γὰρ τοῖς τε μηδ' ἐν τῷδε μετέχοντα, ἐκ ἀπρά-  
 μπειᾶ ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κέρτομέτ' γε ἢ  
 οὐδ' ἐνδεῶς ὄντας τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ τὴν λόγῳ τοῖς ἑρ- 10  
 γοῖς βλάβῃσι ἠγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ διδασκῆται μᾶλλον  
 λόγῳ παρόντες ἢ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἔργῳ ἐλθόντες. ἀφαιρούμεν γὰρ  
 οὐ καὶ τὸδε ἔχομεν, ὅτι τολμᾷν τι οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ  
 πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρήσομεν, ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμα-  
 ργία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνος φέρει. κρείττους δ' αὖ 15  
 τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖν οἱ πάντες δυνάμει καὶ ἡδύα σαφέ-  
 στατα γινώσκοντες, καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν μὴ ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐκ  
 πῶν κινδύνων. Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἠνθυπόμενα τοῖς πολ-  
 λαῖς· καὶ γὰρ πάχοντες εἰ, ἀλλὰ δρωῖντες, κτόμεθα τὴν φί-  
 λους βεβαιότητος ἢ ὁ δρῶντας τὴν χάριν, ὅτι οὐφειλομένη 20  
 δι' εὐνοίας ὅτι δίδωκε σώζειν· ὁ δ' ἀνδοφείλων ἀμβλύτῳ,  
 εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδύσσει,  
 καὶ μέντοι οὐ τῷ συμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ, ἢ τῆς ἐλθυ-  
 δεύειας πρὸς πᾶσι ἀδύνατον τὸν ὀφειλόμενον.

Ξινοκλῆς

# ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ. 7

ἔμμελόν τι λέγω, τήν τε πᾶσαι πόλιν ἡ Ἑλλάς  
 παῖδεςσι εἶναι, καὶ καθ' ἕνατον δευεῖν αἱ μοι ἡ αὐτὸν αἰδρε  
 παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείους εἶδη, καὶ μὲν χαλεπὸν μάλιν' αἱ ἐν  
 τραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐτάρκεις παρ' ἑχέσθαι. καὶ ὡς ἔλγαν  
 5 οἱ τῷ παρόντι κόμπῳ τὰδε μάλλον ἢ ἔρῳν ὅτιν ἀλήθεια,  
 αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις ἡ πόλεως ἦν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκ-  
 τησάμεθα, σημαίνῃ. μόνη γὰρ ἡ νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσει ἐς πεί-  
 ραν ἔρχῃ. καὶ μόνη οὔτε ὅσον πολεμῶν ἐπελθόντι ἀναγκη-  
 σιν ἔχῃ ὑπὸ οἷον κακοπαθεῖ, οὔτε τῷ ὑπὸ κῶν κατὰ μεμψ  
 10 ὡς ἔχῃ ὑπὸ ἀξίῳ ἀρχῇ. μὲν μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ  
 ἔδῃτοι ἀμάρτυρον γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν παρὰ χρόνους, τοῖς τε  
 νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἑκείνῃ θανουμένοις. καὶ ὅτιν παρὰ δέομενοι  
 οὔτε Ομήρου ἐπαινεῖται, οὔτε ὅτις ἐπεισὶ μὲν παυτίχῃ τέρψῃ,  
 ἡ δ' ἔρῳν ἡ ὑπὸ νοῖαν ἡ ἀλήθεια βλάψῃ. ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι  
 15 μὲν γάλασαν καὶ γὰρ ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ τόλμῃ κατὰ νῆα  
 χέσαντες θνήσκουσιν, παρὰ χῶν ἡ μνημεῖα κατὰν τε κατὰ νῆα  
 αἰδία ξυγκατακίοντες. παρὰ τοιαύτης οἷον πόλεως οἶδε  
 τε θνήσκουσιν, δικαίοντες μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτῇ, μαχόμενοι  
 ἐπελθόντες, καὶ ἡ λειπομένην πόλιν πᾶν εἰκὸς ἐθέλει  
 20 ὑπὸ αὐτῇ καίμηναι.

Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμύχονα τὰ παρὰ τῇ πόλει, διδασκαλίαν  
 τε ποιῶμεν μὴ παρὰ ἴσου ἡμῶν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς  
 πᾶσι μὴδὲν ὑπὸ ἀρχῇ ὁμοίως, καὶ ἡ εὐλογία ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς  
 νῦν λέγω φέρειν σημείους κατὰ νῆα. καὶ εἰρημὴ αὐτῇ τὰ  
 μέγιστα

ΕΡΓΩ, μὴ ἡμῖν εἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ πρὸς ἡμῶν σφίσιν  
αὐτοῖς· (ἐντυχόντες πορεύονται τῇ εὐκαρδίᾳ πορείαι,  
προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ  
τῶν οἰκείων) λόγῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν λειπόρμον πόρμον ὃ, τὸ νόμος  
πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρητὶ ἔργον καὶ οὗτος  
πρὸς γένεσιν, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μήμῳ καὶ πόμος τοῖς  
πρὸς γένεσιν γένεσιν καὶ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. διὰ δὲ τούτων  
πρὸς λόγον, ὅστις τὸς μὲν τέλει τελευτῶντες ἰσχυρῶς ἐπαπείνε-  
ται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς πρὸς γένεσιν· ἐκρήνους μὲν καὶ  
ἀδελφοῖς μιμεῖσθαι καὶ πᾶσι ἀρετῇ παρακελεύμενος· πα- 10  
τέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ ἑσπείας τῶν ἀνωγεινῶν ἐπὶ πρὸς γένεσιν  
λείπονται, τέττες δὲ παραμενδούμενος. Τίς οὖν ἀνὴρ ἡμῶν  
τοιοῦτος λόγος φαίνει; καὶ πόθεν αὖ ὁρῶν ἀρξαιμένα ἀν-  
δρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαπείνεις, οἱ ζῶντες τε τὸς ἑαυτῶν εὐφραι-  
νον δι' ἀρετῇ, καὶ καὶ τελευτῇ ἀπὸ τῆς ζῶντος σωτηρίας 15  
ἡλλάσσονται;

Δοκῶ μοι χρῆται, καὶ φίλοι, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἐχθροῖς, ἔπει-  
κα καὶ ἐπαπείνεις αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγίνοντο διὰ τὸ φιλοῦναι ἐξ  
ἀγαθῶν καὶ εὐφραίνειν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐγκωμιάζωμεν·  
ἐδύτερον δὲ, πρὸς τὴν καὶ παιδείαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τέτοις, τῇ 20  
καὶ ἔργον πρὸς γένεσιν ἐπιδείξωμεν, ὥς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τέτταν  
ἀπεφῆσαν.

Τῆς δ' εὐφροσύνης πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμῶν προγόνων  
ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐπιλείψουσα, ὅτι τὸς ἐκρήνους τέττες ἀπο-  
φθαρμένη

φησὶ δὲ μετοικῆσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ πρὸ ὅτι οἱ πατέρ' αὐτῶν οἰκοῦντας καὶ  
 ζῶντας καὶ περιουσίαν οὐκ ὑπὸ μνηστῆρας, ὡς ἄλλοι,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μνηστῆρας, τῆς χώρας εἰς ἣν ὤκουσι καὶ τῇ κεί-  
 5 νῃ τελουμένησιν, οἱ οἰκείους τόποις τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ θρη-  
 νάσας καὶ ὑποδείξαντες. Διχαίστατοι δὲ κοσμήσαντες  
 παῖδες τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ  
 ἡ πόλις εὐφραίνει κοσμουμένη. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χώρα καὶ  
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ὅς μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολ-  
 10 λαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, παῖδες δὲ καὶ μέγιστοι, ὅτι τυχερὰ  
 οὕσα θεοφιλῆς. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ἡμῶν πρὸ λόγων, ἡ τῶν ἀμφισ-  
 βητησάντων περὶ αὐτῆς θεῶν ἕως τε καὶ κρίσις. ἢ δὲ θεοὶ  
 ἐπήνεσαν, πῶς οὐκ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων διχαία  
 ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Δεύτερον δὲ ἔπαινος διχαίως ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς εἶη,  
 15 ὅτι οἱ ἐκείνῳ πρὸ χρόνων εἰς ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνέδιδε καὶ ἔφου-  
 ζε παῖδας, θηρία τε καὶ βοτάνη, εἰς τέττα ἡ ἡμετέρα,  
 θηρίων μὲν ἀγρίων ἀγροῦ καὶ καθαροῦ ἐφύη· ἐξελέξατο δὲ  
 τῇ ζωῇ καὶ ἐθήνησεν ἀνθρώποι, ὃ συνέσθαι τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ  
 ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει. μέγα δὲ τεκμή-  
 20 ριον τέττα πρὸ λόγων, ὅτι ἡδὲ ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ οὕτως πᾶσι τε καὶ  
 ἡμετέροις παῖσιν· πάντες γὰρ οἱ πικρὸν τροφὴν ἔχοντες ὅτι-  
 τηδεῖν ᾧ αὐτῇ τέλει. ᾧ καὶ γαλὴν δόλην τεκῶσά τε ἀληθῶς,  
 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, εἰς μὴ ἔχη πηγὰς τρο-  
 φῆς πρὸ θηομένης. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ

ἰκανὸν τεκμήριον πρὸς ὅς ἀνθρώπους γνησιαμένῃ μὴ  
 γὰρ εἰ περὶ τότε καὶ τούτῃ προφίλῳ ἀνθρωπείῃ πνευκα ἔ-  
 πυρῶν καὶ κελῶν καρπὸν, ὃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἀειστα τρέφεται  
 ὁ ἀνθρώπου ἥμος, ὡς περὶ ὅτι τὸ τοῦ ζῶντος αὐτῇ γνη-  
 σιμῇ. μᾶλλον γὰρ ἡ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ γυναικὸς παροσκήδῃ δέ-  
 χουαι τοιαύτα τεκμήρια. οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναικὶ μεμύρηται  
 κηφῆ καὶ θηρίῳ, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γυν. τὴν δὲ τῷ καρπῷ  
 οὐκ ἐφθόνηται, ἀλλ' ἐπειμὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τὸ  
 ἐλαίου ἥμεσι, πόνοι ἀρωγῶν, ἀπὸ τοῖς ἐκρήνοισι. θρε-  
 ψιμῇ γὰρ καὶ αὐξήσασα πρὸς ἡβῶν, ἀρχοῦνται ἐκ διδασ-  
 κάλοισι αὐτῶν Θεοὺς ἐπιηγάγῃ. ὡς τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα τρέφῃ  
 εἰ περὶ τοιαύτῃ εἶναι. ἴσμεν γὰρ οἱ τὴν βίον ἡμῶν κατεσκέδα-  
 σαι, πρὸς τε τιμὴν καὶ ἡμέραν διαίται τέχνης τρέφοντες  
 παιδολογίῃ, καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας φυλακῶν  
 ὅπλων κτησίν τε καὶ χρήσι διδασκάλοι. θηρηγόντες δὲ καὶ 15  
 παιδολογόντες ἕως ① πᾶσι τρέφοντες, ὅκου πολιτείας  
 κατασκεδάσασκεν, ἥς ὁρῶντες ἔχῃ ἀφ' ἐλαίου βραχέων ὅτιμα-  
 αῖται. πολιτεία γὰρ, προφῇ ἀνθρώπων ὅτι καλὴ μὲν,  
 ἀγαθὴ ἢ δὲ ἐνδοξία, κακὴ.

Ὡς οὖν εἰ καλῇ πολιτεία ἐπείρασται ② τρέφεται 20  
 ἡμῶν, ἀναγκαῖον δηλοῦναι. δι' ἣν δὴ καίκεται ἀγαθὸν, καὶ εἰ  
 ἦν εἶσιν, ὡς οἶδε τυχεύουσιν ὅτις ③ τελευτηκότες. ἢ  
 γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν Λεισοκρατία, εἰ ἦ.  
 νῦν τε πολιτοδύμια, καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ χεῖρον ἔξ ἐκείνου ὡς.  
 ταπολα.

παπολλὰ καλὰ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ, Δημοκρατία, ὁ δὲ,  
 ἄλλο, ᾧ αὖ χάρις· ἔτι ἢ τῇ ἀλφείᾳ μετ' εὐδξίας πλή-  
 ρους Δεισιπρατία. Βασιλεῖς μὲ γὰρ αἰὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν οὗτοι  
 δὲ, ποτὲ μὲ ἐκ γένους, ποτὲ δὲ αἵρεσί. ἐγκρατές ἢ τῆς  
 5 πύλας παπολλὰ τὸ πλῆθος· τοῖς δὲ ἀρχαῖς δίδωσι καὶ  
 κρατὶ τοῖς αἰὶ δόξασιν ἀείροις εἶν· καὶ αὐτὰ ἀσθενεία,  
 αὐτὰ φρενῶ, οὐτ' ἀγνοσία πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ἐσθλούς,  
 οὐδ' τοῖς σφόντοις τιμήματα, ὥσπερ εἰ ἄλλαις πύλαισι  
 ἀλλὰ εἰς ὅρας, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶν, κρατὶ καὶ ἀρ-  
 10 ισχύ. Αἰτία ἢ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης, ἡ ἐξ ἴσου γέ-  
 νους· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πύλαις ἐκ πολυδαπέων κατα-  
 κωασμέναι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀισμαλῶν· ἔτι αὐτῶν ἀνά-  
 μαλαι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, Τυρανίδες τε καὶ Ολιγαρχίαι.  
 οἰκοῦσι οὖν, οἷσι μὲν δούλους, (Α) δὲ δεσπότας ὅλην  
 15 νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς ἢ καὶ (Α) ἡμῶτεροι, μᾶς μητρὸς πάν-  
 τες ἀδελφοὶ φιλῶτες, ὥς ἀξιώμεν δούλοι ἐσθλὴν δεσπότην  
 ὅλην εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἡ ἰσότης ἡμᾶς ἢ κρατὶ φύσιν ἰσονο-  
 μίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητῆν καὶ νόμοι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλω ὑπεί-  
 κειν ἄλλήλοις, ἢ ἀρετῆς δόξῃ καὶ φρονήσεως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν  
 20 πάσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ πεδραμμένοι (Α) πάντες πατέρες, καὶ (Α)  
 ἡμέτεροι, καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοί, καὶ καλῶς φιλῶτες, πολλὰ δὴ καὶ  
 καλὰ ἔργα ἀπεφάναντο εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ  
 δημοσίᾳ· οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ Ἑλληνι ὑπὲρ  
 Ἑλλήνων μάχεσθαι, καὶ Βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.



Εὐμάρπου μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀμαζώνων ὀπισθρατευσάντων ὅλην  
 τὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἔτη, ὡς ἡμῶνδε, καὶ εἰς  
 ἡμῶνδε Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδης πρὸς  
 Ἀργείους, ὃς τε χρόνος βραχύς· ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι, ποιη-  
 τὰί τι αὐτῶν ἤδη χαλῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ μουσικῇ ὑμνοῦσαν-  
 τες, εἰς πάντας μεμνύμενοι, ἐάν οὖν ἡμεῖς ὀπισθρατεύωμεν  
 καὶ αὐτὰ λόγῳ φιλῶ κοσμεῖν, τάχ' αὖ δόξωσι φαινο-  
 μεθα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς ταῦτα δεῖξαι μοι εἴης, ἐπειδὴ  
 καὶ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν. ὅταν δὲ οὔτε ποιητὴς περὶ δόξαν ἀξίαν  
 ἐπ' ἀξίοις λάβωι ἔχει, ἐπὶ τὴν ὅτι ἀμνηστὰς, τύποι πέρ τε  
 μοι δεῖξαι χρῆται ὀπισθρατεύου, ἐπαμύναται τε καὶ τρεῖς ἔτη  
 μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐκ ὧνδε τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σφίσσι πᾶ-  
 σιν γίγνεται, τρεῖς ἔτη πρὸς τὸν ὀπισθρατέον.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τύποι ὅνδε λόγῳ τρεῖς καὶ Πέρσης ἡγεμόνης τὴν  
 Ἀσίας, καὶ δουλοκράτορος τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἔχει αὖ τῆσδε τῆς  
 χώρας ἄρχοντες, οἳ ἡμέτεροι οὐκ ἐθέλομεν καὶ χρὴ  
 τρεῖς ἔτη μεμνημένους, ἐπαμύναται αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν. δεῖ  
 δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλει τις χαλῶς ἐπαμύναται, οἳ οὐκ αἶψα  
 πρὸ χρόνου θυμῶνδε λόγῳ, ὅτι πάντα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλευε  
 τρεῖς ἔτη ἤδη βασιλεῖ. ὅταν δὲ τρεῖς ἔτη, Κύρος· ἐλευθε-  
 ρότατος Πέρσης τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολίτας πρὸ αὐτοῦ φρονήματα.  
 ἅμα καὶ αὐτὸν διακρίνεται Μήδοις ἐδούλευσας, ἔκ τῆς Ἀλίας.  
 Ἀσίας μέγας Αἰγύπτου ἡγεῖται· ὁ δὲ ἐκὼς αὐτῆς, Αἰγύπτου τε  
 καὶ Λιβύης, ὅσον φῶς τε ἦν ἐκτεταμένον πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον,  
 τρεῖς ἔτη

πρὸς τὴν μέγαν Σκυθῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὤρσατο, καὶ δὲ,  
 τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπερώτης καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὡς μὴ ἀ-  
 ξίως ἀνίστασθαι ἀπὸ μνηστῆρος. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες διδυλα-  
 ραῖαι ἀπάντων ἀνδράπων ἦσαν. οὗτοι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα  
 5 ἡ μάχημα ἦν καταδιδυλαρμένη ἢ ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή. Αἰ-  
 πασιμύθη ἢ Δαρείος ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ερετρείας, Σάρδεσιν  
 ὁτιβουλῶσαι περσασιζίδου, πέμψας μυριάδας μὴ  
 συντήκοντα ἔντι πλείοις καὶ ναυσί, ταῦς δὲ τεμαχοσίας,  
 Δάτη δὲ ἄρχοντα, εἶπει ἤκεν ἄρχοντα Ερετρείας καὶ Αθη-  
 ποταίους, εἰ βούλοιντο ἢ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ πλεό-  
 σαις εἰς Ερετρείαν ἐπ' ἀνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς  
 εὐδαίμωνόταταις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τοῖς πόλεμοις, καὶ ἐκ ὀλί-  
 γοι, τύτους ἐχειρώσατο μὴ ἐν περσὶ ἡμέραις. διηρμήσατο  
 15 ἢ αὐτῶν πᾶσαι ἢ χώραν, ἵνα μὴδεὶς Σποπύργοι τοῖς τῶν  
 περσῶν ὅτι τοῖς ὅμοις ἐλδοίης ἢ Ερετρείας οἱ στρατιῶται  
 αὐτοῖς, ἐκ βασιλέως εἰς βασιλέα ἀφαιρῶντες, συνάφαιτες  
 ταῖς χεῖρας, διήλθον ἀπασαν ἢ χώραν, ἣν ἔχοντο πρὸ βα-  
 σιλέως εἶπειν ὅτι ὅσοις σφᾶς Σποπιφύργως εἴη. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ  
 ἀφαιρῶντα κατηράοντο ἢ Ερετρείας εἰς Μακεδῶνα, ὡς  
 20 ἔτοιμοι σφίσι δὲ καὶ Αθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνέκλη-  
 ζόμενους Ερετρείαν, ἄγειν. τῶν δὲ, τῶν μὲν περ-  
 χόμενων, τῶν δ' ὁτιχειρμένων, οὗτ' Ερετρείαν ἐβόηθη-  
 σιν Ἑλλήνων οὐδεὶς, αὐτὴ Αθηναίοις, πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίαν.  
 οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑπερβαίᾳ τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. ① δ' ἄλλοι  
 πάντες

## 8 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

μέγιστα. ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρετῶν ἐκόςμησαν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσθόρο-  
πτον, ὥσπερ τῶνδε, ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὥσπερ τι μινύσσα, καὶ πελο-  
ταία βεβαῖον, ἢ νῦν τῶνδε χαλκαστρή. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς 5  
πᾶσι χεῖρες δίκαιοι τῇ ἐς τὰς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίας προτίθησθαι ἀγαθῶ γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες, κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔβλαψαν. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πολούτω πῖς τιμὴ ἔτι σπουδαῖον προτιμήσας ἐμαλκίσθη, οὔτε πείρας ἐλπίδι, ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ 10  
ἀφρυγῶν αὐτὴν πλετήσμεν, ἀναβολῇ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐποίησατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐργῶν πρῶτον παρὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν λαβόντες, καὶ κινδύων ἅμα τοῖςδε χάλλισιν νομίσομεν, ἡβλήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφείσθαι· ἐλπίδι μὲν ὁ ἀφορμὴ τῷ χαλκαστρήν, ὅστις ἐφείσθη, ἔργῳ 15  
τῷ δὲ ἤδη ὁρῶμεν σοφίαν αὐτοῖς ἀξιόνητες πεποιθέναι· καὶ εἰ αὐτῶν ἔστι ἀμυνάσθαι καὶ παθεῖν, μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι, ἢ πρὸς ἐπιδόσεις σῶζεσθαι, ὅ μιν αἰσχρὸν ἔσθαι λόγῳ ἔφυγον, ὅ δὲ ἔργῳ ἔσθαι σώματι ὑπέμεινον, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου κινδύνου τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ δέος ἀπηλλά- 20  
γησαν.

Καὶ οἶδε μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοῦτο ἐχρόνον· τὰς δὲ λοιποὺς χρόνους ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιόμιν τῇ ἐς τὰς πολέμους ἀφροῖαν ἔχειν, σχε-  
πνύντας

πῶν(τα) μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ ἢ ὠφέλειαν ἦν ἄν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν  
 χεῖρον αὐτὰς ὑμᾶς εἰδότες μηκύνει, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τῶς  
 πολέμοις ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς  
 πόλεως δύναμιν καὶ ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θωπεύουσιν, καὶ ἐρσυτάς  
 5 γηρομένους αὐτῆς. καὶ ὅταν ὑμῶν μεγάλη δόξα εἴναι, ἐθ-  
 θυμευμένοις ὅτι πολυμῶντες, καὶ γηρώσκοιτες τὰ δέοντα, καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκλήσαντο. καὶ ὅποτε  
 καὶ πείρα τὴν σφαλείησαν, οὐκ οὐ καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τὴν σφε-  
 τέρως ἀρετῆς ἀξιούντες στείλκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ  
 10 παριέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἀγῆ-  
 ρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον ὀπσισημότατον, οὐκ  
 οὐδὲ ὅτι κέντα μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἢ δόξα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ  
 ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργῳ χαριῶν ἀείμνησθαι κατα-  
 λείπει. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὀπισημῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφῳ, καὶ ὁ σπ-  
 15 λῶν μόνον οὐ τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ὀπισημῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 μὴ παροπλήσει ἀγασθῶν μνήμη παρ' ἐκείνῳ τῆς γνώμης  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι ἔργου ἐνδαιτυνται. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες,  
 καὶ τὸ εὐδαίμων, τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ ἡ ἐλδύμενον, τὸ εὐφύχον  
 κρίναντες, μὴ παροπλήσθε τῶς πολέμου καὶ κινδύνους. καὶ γὰρ  
 20 ① κακοπραγούνηες δικαιοτέρων ἀφειδῶν ἐν πύρριον, οἷς  
 ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστι ἀγαθὴ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐνδομῆ μεταβολὴ οὐ  
 τὸ ζῆν ἐτι κινδυνεύεται, καὶ οὐδὲ οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ  
 ἀφαιρῶνται, ἢ τι πλάσωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ γε  
 φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἢ οὐ τὸ μὲν τοῦ μαλακιοῦναι κάκωσις,

## 10 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥόμης καὶ κοιῆς ἐλπίδι· ἅμα γιγνόμενῳ  
ἀναισθητὸς γίνασθαι.

Διόπερ καὶ τοὺς πῦνδε νῦν τοκίας, ὅσοι πάρετε, οὐκ  
ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρεμυθήσομαι. εἰ πολυτελείαις  
καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἐκίταται τραπείντες. τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἱ ἀνδ  
τῆς ἐνπρεπείτης λήχουσι, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲ νῦν, πελοπῆς,  
ὑμεῖς ἢ λύπης· καὶ εἰ οἷς ἐνεδαιμονήσασθε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως  
καὶ ἐντελευτήσασθε ξυμμετρήσῃ. χαλεπὸν μὲ οἷον οἶδα πεί-  
θεν ὄν, ὡς καὶ πολλὰς ἐξετε ὑπομήματα εἰ ἄλλων  
εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη ἔχ  
ὡς ἀν τις μὴ πειρασάμεν· ἀγαθὴν στείσκεται, ἀλλ' ἔ  
ἀν ἐπὶ θύμῳ ἀφαιρεθῇ. κατὰ τὴν ἢ χρηρὲ ἄλλων  
παίδων ἐλπίδι, οἷς ἐπὶ ἡλικίᾳ τέκνωσι ποιεῖσθαι. ἰδίᾳ τε  
καὶ τῷ οὐκ ὄντων λήθῃ· ὅτι γιγνόμενός τις ἔσονται· καὶ  
τῇ πόλῃ δόξουσιν, ἔκ τε τῆ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι· καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ  
ξυνοίσειν. καὶ καὶ οἷον τε ἴσόν τε ἢ δίκαιον βεβαλῆσθαι οἱ ἀν  
μὴ καὶ παῖδας εἰς τῆ ὁμοίᾳ πειρασάμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν.  
ὅσοι δ' αὖ πρῆβήκατε, τὸν τε πλείονα, κέρδος ὄν, εὐτυ-  
χεῖτε βίον· ἠγείσθε καὶ τὸνδε βραχυὸς ἔσθαι, καὶ τῇ πῦνδε  
ἐκλείει κουφίζεσθε. ὅ καὶ φιλόπμοι ἀγῆρων μόνον· καὶ ἔκ 20  
εἰ πῶς ἀχρεῖα ἢ ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ τινες φασί,  
μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ ὅτι πᾶσι.

Παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι πῦνδε πάρετε, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς, ὁρᾷ μέ-  
γαν ἢ ἀγῶνα. τὸν καὶ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἶωθεν ἐπαινεῖν· καὶ  
μέγας

μόλις ἀν' ἑαυτὴν περιεβλεπὼν ἀρετῆς ἔχ' ὅμοιοι ἀλλ' ὀλίγω  
 χείρονα κριθείητε. φρόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι παρὰ τοὺς ἀντίπα-  
 λους ὅς τ' ἐμὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀναγκασίῃ εὐνοία τιμήμηναι.

Εἰ δέ με δὴ καὶ γυναικείας τὴν ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χρεῖα  
 ἔσονται, μεταθῆναι, βραχεία παρανείσθ' ἅπαν σημαίνει. ὅ-  
 τε γὰρ ὑπαρχύσης φύσεως μὴ χείρονα θμείβῃ, ὑμῶν μεγάλη  
 ἡ δόξα, καὶ οἷς ἀν' ἐπ' ἐλάττω ἀρετῆς πέει ἢ φύγει ἐν  
 τοῖς ἄρεσι κλέος ἦ.

Εἴρη) καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὅσα ἔχον παρὰ σοφίαν  
 καὶ ἔργῳ, οἱ θαπτόμενοι, τὰ μὲν, ἥδη κεκόσμηται τὰ δὲ,  
 αὐτῶς οὖν παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τῶνδε δημοσία ἢ πόλιν μέχρις  
 ἡλικίας θρέψῃ, ἀφελίμων γέφανον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομέ-  
 νοις τῶν τοιαύτων ἀγόνων παρηγοῦσα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἷς κεῖται  
 ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖσδε καὶ ἄνδρες ἀειτοὶ πολιτεύουσι. πῶς  
 ἀπολοφυσάμενοι ὅν παρηγοῖ καὶ ἐκάσω, ἄπειτε.

# ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

## ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ,

Η,

### ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ,

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ.

**Ε**Ξ ἀγροῶς, ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; ΜΕ. ΕΞ ἀγροῶς,  
ὃ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτήριου. ΣΩ. Τί  
μάλιστα σὺ πρὸς βουλευτήριον; ἢ δηλαδὴ ὅτι παιδεύεσθαι  
καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τέλει ἠγάγῃς; καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρὸς ἤδη ἔχῃς,  
ἐπὶ τοῖς μείζονας ὅπλοις τρέπεσθαι; καὶ ἄρχειν ἡμῶν, ὃς  
θαυμάσιαι, ὅπλιται τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τηλικαῦτα ὄντα,  
ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπη ἡμῶν ἡ οἰκία αἰεὶ τινα ἡμῶν ὅπλιται  
πρὸς ἐχθρούς; ΜΕ. Εὖν σύγῃ, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἵαται καὶ συμ-  
βουλεύει ἄρχειν, προσκυνοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐ. Νυνὲς μένοι  
ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον, πυθόμεθα ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ  
μέλλει αἰρεῖσθαι ὅτις ἐρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανόντι. ταφὰς γὰρ  
οἶδ' ὅτι μέλλουσιν ποιεῖν. ΣΩ. Πάντῃ. Ἀλλὰ τίνα εἰ-  
λοντο; ΜΕ. Οὐδέναν. Ἀλλὰ ἀνεβάλλοντο εἰς τὴν αὔριον.  
οἷμα μὲντοι Ἀρχῆται ἢ Δίονα αἰρεθήσεσθαι. ΣΩ. Καὶ  
μὲν, ὃ Μενέξενε, πολλαχοῦ κινδυνεύει χαλῶναι τὸ σῶμα  
πολέμῳ

10

15

πολέμῳ ἔπαθήσκεα· καὶ γὰρ ταφῆς χαλῆς τε καὶ μεγα-  
 λοπρεπύς τυγχάνῃ· καὶ εἰάν τις πῆς ὧν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ  
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ αὖ ἔτυχῃ· καὶ εἰάν φαῦλος ᾦ, ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν τε  
 καὶ οὐκ εὐκῇ ἐπαινοῦνται, ἀλλὰ ὥς πολλοὶ χρεὼν λόβος  
 5 παρεσκευασμένων· οἱ οὕτω χαλῶς ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ  
 προσόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ πρὸς ἐκάστῳ λέγοντες, κάλλιστα πρὸς  
 τοῖς ὀνόμασι ποικίλλοντες, γρηπύουσι ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς,  
 καὶ τὴν πᾶσιν ἐγκωμιάζουσιν· καὶ πάντας τρεποῖς, ὥς τις  
 τελευτηκώτατος ὦν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τοὺς πορογόνους ἡμῶν  
 10 ἄπαντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ ζῴ-  
 ντι ἐπαινοῦντες. ὥς· ἔγωγε, ὦ Μενέξενε, θηναίως πᾶν  
 ἀφ' ἡμέτης, ἐπανέμην· ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκάστῳ ἔσκα  
 ἀκροόμενος καὶ κηλούμενος, ἡρώμενος ὦν τῷ παραχρῆμα  
 μέζων καὶ θηναϊότερος καὶ χαλλίῳν γιγνέναι. καὶ οἷα δὲ  
 15 τὰ πολλὰ αἰὲς μετ' ἐμοῦ ξένοι πινὲς ἐπίσταν καὶ ξυναιρόν-  
 ται· πρὸς οὓς ἐγὼ σπουδότερος ὦν τῷ παραχρῆμα γίνο-  
 μαι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κείνοι ταυτὰ πάντα δοκῶσί μοι πάσχειν  
 καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ πάλιν, θαυμασιωτέραν  
 αὐτῇ ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον, ὑπὸ τοῦ λέγοντος  
 20 ἀναπειρόμενοι. καὶ μοι αὕτη ἡ σπουδὴ παραμυθία ἡμέ-  
 ρας πλείων ἢ πρὸς· οὕτως ἑαυτοῦς ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθγῆτος  
 πρὸς τῷ λέγοντι ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥς· μόνης τῇ  
 πότῃ ἢ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἀναμνησκόμενος ἐμαυτῷ, καὶ αἰ-  
 διάτομαι εὖ γῆς ἐμὴ· τέως δὲ οἶμαι μοιαιούκ ὦν μαχάραν  
 ἡσίοις



# 14 ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

ἡσίοις οἰκῆν. αὐτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοὶ εἰσὶ. ΜΕ. Αὐεὶ  
 σὺ τρασαίσεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς ῥήτορας· νῦν μέντοι  
 οἶμαι ἐκὰς τὸν αἰρέντα ἔσθ' ὅταν εὐπορήσῃς· ἔξ ὑπογῆς  
 γὰρ παντράσῃς ἢ αἵρεσις γήσῃ· ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσῃ  
 ἢ λέγειν ὥσπερ αὐτοχρδιάζει. ΣΩ. Πόθεν, ὦ γαυρὸς; εἰσὶν  
 ἐκάστοις τέτων λόγῳ παρεσκευασμένοι· καὶ ἅμα ἐστὶ αὐτο-  
 χρδιάζειν τά γε τοιαῦτα χαλεπόν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύο Ἀθηναῖοι  
 οἱ Πελοπονησίοις εὖ λέγειν, ἢ Πελοπονησίοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 ἀγαθὸν ἀνὴρ ῥήτορ· δύο τοῦ πείσοντος καὶ εὐδοκμήσοντος  
 ὅταν δέ τις ἐν τέτοις ἀγωνίζηται ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπαίνει, ἐστὶν  
 μέγα δοκῇ εὖ λέγειν. ΜΕ. Οὐκ οἶδ', ὦ Σώκρατες; ΣΩ.  
 Οὐ μέντοι, μὰ Δία. ΜΕ. Ἡ οἷε οἶός τ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι αὐτὸς  
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δύο, καὶ ἔλοιτό σε ἢ βουλή; ΣΩ. Καὶ ἐμοὶ  
 μέν γε, ὦ Μενέξενε, ἐστὶν θαυμαστὸν, οἷωτ' εἶναι εἰπεῖν, ὅ  
 τυχερὸν διδάσκαλος οὔσα οὐ πάνυ φαύλη πρὸς ῥητορικῆς, 15  
 ἀλλ' ἥπερ καὶ ἄλλες πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε ῥήτορας,  
 ἕνα δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἐροῦντα πᾶν Ἑλλήνων, Περικλέα τὸν Ζαν-  
 γήππου. ΜΕ. Τίς αὕτη; ἢ δηλονότι Ἀσπασίαν λέγεις;  
 ΣΩ. Λέγω γάρ· καὶ Κόννον γε τὸν Μητροβίον. ὅτι γάρ  
 μοι δύο εἰσὶ διδάσκαλοι· ὁ μὲν μουσικῆς· ἢ δὲ ῥητορικῆς. 20  
 οὗτοι μὲν οἷον τρεφόμενοι ἄνδρα ἐστὶν θαυμαστὸν δεινὸν εἶναι  
 λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοὶ κάκῳ ἐπαιδεύθη, μουσικῶ  
 μὲν ὑπὸ Λάμπρου παιδολύτῃ, ῥητορικῶ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντι-  
 φωνίᾳ τῷ Ράμνεσίῳ, ὅμως καὶ ὅστις οἷός τ' εἶναι Ἀθηναῖος

γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαυῶν εὐδοκμεῖν. ΜΕ. Καὶ τί αὖ ἔχουσιν  
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι σε λέγειν; ΣΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν πρῶτον ἑμαυτοῦ  
 ἴσως θεδέν. Ἀσπασίας δὲ καὶ χθὲς ἠεροώμην, περαινύσης  
 ὅππιαφιοι λόγον περ αὐτῆς τούτων. ἤκουσε γὰρ ἄπερ σὺ  
 5 λέλεις, ὅτι μέλλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι αἰρεῖσθαι ἔργοντα. ἔπειτα τὰ  
 μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὄψεσθαι χρῆμα μοι διήλθον, οἷα δέοι λέγειν, τὰ δὲ  
 περύτερον ἐσκεμμένη ὅτε, μοι δοκῇ, σωστήσῃ τὸν ὅππια-  
 φιον λόγον ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε, περλεῖμματ' ἄλλα ἔξ  
 ἐκείνης συλλογῶσα. ΜΕ. Ἡ καὶ μνημοεύσαις αὖ ἀέλει-  
 10 γει Ἀσπασία; ΣΩ. Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε. ἐμάνθανόν γε τοὶ  
 πρῶτον αὐτῆς καὶ ὀλίγους πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὅτι ἐπελεπθανόμην.  
 ΜΕ. Τί θι ἔδῃλγες; ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ μοι χαλεπαῖν  
 ἢ διδάσκαλος, αὖ ἔξεργῶ αὐτῆς τὸν λόγον. ΜΕ. Μη-  
 δαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἄλλ' εἰπέ, καὶ πάνυ μοι χαρεῖν, εἴτε  
 15 Ἀσπασίας βουλὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ὅτιοῦν· ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπέ.  
 ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ἴσως μου καταγελᾷ, αὖ σοι δόξω, περσέ-  
 τῃς ὅν, ἐπὶ παίζειν. ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἄλλ'  
 εἰπέ παντὶ τρέπον. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι σοί γε δὴ χαρί-  
 ζεσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγου, εἴ με κελόοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχή-  
 20 σαι, χαρυσταίμην αὖ, ἐπειδὴ γε μόνον ἴσμεν. Ἄλλ' ἄγε·  
 ἔλεγε γὰρ ὡς ἐγώ μιν, ἀρξαμένη λέγειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῶν  
 περνεῶτων, ἔγνων.

ΕΡΓΩ, μὲν ἡμῶν εἰς ἔχουσι τὰ παροήκοντα σφίσι  
αὐτοῖς· (ἐν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εὐκαρινδίην πορείαν,  
προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ  
τῶν οἰκείων) λόβῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν λειπόμενον πόσῳ ὃ, τὴν νόμος  
προσπάθει ἐποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρηρῆ· ἔργων γὰρ οὕτως  
παραγίγεται, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μήμητι καὶ πόσῳ τοῖς  
πράξεσι γίγνεται καὶ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. διὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
πρὸς λόγου, ὅτις τὸς μὲν τελειοποιῶντες ἰσχυρῶς ἐπαπέσ-  
ται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς καὶ ἀμείψῃ· ἐκρήνοισι μὲν καὶ  
ἀδελφοῖς μιμνήσκῃ καὶ πᾶσι ἀρετὴν παρακελεύομενος· πα-  
τήρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας, καὶ εἰπὲς τῶν ἀνωγειν ἐπὶ παρογόνων  
λείπονται, τέττες δὲ παραμυθούμενος. τίς οὖν ἀνὴρ ἡμῶν  
τοῖς λόγῳ φαίνεται; καὶ πόθεν ἀνὴρ ὁρῶς ἀρξαίμεθα ἀν-  
δρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαπνεῖν, οἱ ζῶντες τε τὸς ἑαυτῶν εὐφραι-  
νοι διὰ ἀρετὴν, καὶ καὶ τελευτῇ ἀπὸ τῆς ζώοντος σωτηρίας  
ἡλλάξαντο;

Δοκῶ μοι χρηρῆ, καὶ φέρον, ὡς περ ἀγαθοὶ ἐχόντες, ἔπει-  
κα καὶ ἐπαπνεῖν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φιλοῦναι ἐξ  
ἀγαθῶν καὶ εὐφραίνειν οὕτως ὡς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκωμιάζομεν·  
ἐδότερον γὰρ προσφῆναι τε καὶ παιδεῖν· ὅτι δὲ τέτοις, τῇ  
ἐργῶν προῖν ἐπιδείξομεν, ὡς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τέτην  
ἀπεφῆσαν.

Τῆς δὲ εὐφρασίας ὡς τοῖς ὑπῆρξε τοῖςδε ἢ τῶν προηρόντων  
ἡμέσις, οὐκ ἐπιλείψω, ὅτι τὸς ἐκρήνους τέττες ἔσται  
φθαρμένη

φησὶ αὐτὴ μετοικῆσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας, καὶ πρὸ ὅτι εἰς πατρῷδι οἰκούντας καὶ  
 ζῶντας· καὶ πεφοιμένους οὐκ ὑπὸ μητρῴας, ὡς ἄλλοι,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς, τῆς χώρας εἰς ἣν ὤκου· καὶ πῦν κεί-  
 5 ναι τελευτήσαντας εἰς οἰκείους τόποις τὸ τελευτήσας καὶ θρη-  
 νάσας καὶ ὑποδείξαντες. Διχαϊότατοι δὲ κοσμησά-  
 μενοι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ  
 ἡ πόσις εὐθύνει κοσμουμένη. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χώρα καὶ  
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖται, ὃ μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολ-  
 10 λαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, μετῶν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστοι, ὅτι τυχεῖται  
 οὕσα θεοφιλῆς. μαρτυρεῖ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὸ λόγων, ἡ τῶν ἀμφο-  
 βητησάντων πρὸς αὐτῆς θεῶν ἕως τε καὶ κρίσις· ἢ γὰρ θεοὶ  
 ἐπίνεσαν, πῶς οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων διχαία  
 ἐπαινεῖται; Δεύτερον δὲ ἕκαστος διχαίως εἰς αὐτῆς εἶη,  
 15 ὅτι εἰς οὐκείνῳ πρὸ χρόνῳ εἰς ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδε καὶ ἔφυ-  
 ζῶα πανδοαπα, θηρία τε καὶ βοτάναι, εἰς τὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων,  
 θηρίων μὲν ἀγρίων ἀγροῦ καὶ κτηνῶν ἐφοδῆ· ἐξελέξατο γὰρ  
 τῇ ζῶῃ καὶ ἐθήνησεν ἄνθρωποι, ὃ συνέσει τε ὑποφέρει τῇ  
 ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει. μέγα δὲ τεκμή-  
 20 ριον τῆς πρὸς λόγῳ, ὅτι ἡδὲ ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ οὕτως πᾶσι τε καὶ  
 ἡμετέροις μετῶν· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι τὸν προφῆν ἔχοντες ὅτι  
 τηδεῖται ᾧ εἰς τέκνη. ᾧ καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ τελευτῶν τε ἀληθῶς,  
 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, εἰς μὴ ἔχει πηγὰς τρε-  
 φῆς πρὸ θηομένης. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ

ἰκανὴν τεκμήριον πᾶσι ὡς ἀνθρώπους γινωσκόμεθα. μήτι  
 γὰρ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τρεῖς περὶ ἀνδραπείας ἦσαν καὶ τὸ  
 πυρρῶν καὶ κελῶν καρπῶν, ὧ καλλύματα καὶ ἄλλα τέφρα  
 ὅ ἀνδραπείῃ ἦσαν, ὡς παρ' ὅτι τὴν τὸ ζῶν αὐτῇ γινω-  
 σκόμεθα. μᾶλλον γὰρ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ γυναικὸς παροσκήδ' εἰ-  
 χροῦν ποιεῖται τεκμήρια. οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναικὶ μεμνηται  
 κηρύττει καὶ φησὶν, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γλῶ. τὴν δὲ τὴν καρπῶν  
 οὐκ ἐφθόσθη, ἀλλ' ἐπέμει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
 ἐλαίου ἡμέσιν, πόνων ἀφ' αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τοῖς ἐκρήνοισι. ἀν-  
 φαμέτη γὰρ καὶ ἀνέστησαν παρὸς ἡβῶν, ἀρχοῦνται ἐκ διδασκα-  
 λῶν αὐτῶν Θεοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι. ὡς τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα τρεῖς  
 εἰ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι. ἴσμεν γὰρ οἱ τὸ βίον ἡμῶν κατισκώ-  
 σαν, παρὸς τε τὴν καὶ ἡμέραν διαίταν τέχνας τρεῖς  
 παιδολογίαι, καὶ παρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ τὴν χώρας φυλακῶν  
 ὅπλων κτησῶν τε καὶ χρησῶν διδασκόμενοι. φησὶν γὰρ καὶ 15  
 παιδολογίαι ὅπως (1) πᾶσι τρεῖς, ὧς οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ  
 κατισκώσαντες, ὡς ὁρᾶν ἔχει ἀφ' αὐτῶν βραχέων ὅτι μνη-  
 σθῆται. πολιτεία γὰρ, παρὸς ἀνδραπείῃ ὅτι καλὴ μὲν,  
 ἀγαθῶν ἢ δὲ ἐνδοξία, κακῶν.

ὡς οὖν ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπὶ ἀφῆσαν (2) παρὸς αὐτοῦ  
 ἡμῶν, ἀναγκαῖον διδάσκει. δι' ἣν δὴ καὶ κείνοι ἀγαθοί, καὶ αἱ  
 ἦν εἰσιν, ὡς οἱ δὲ τυγχάνουσιν ὅτι (3) τελευτηκότες. ἢ  
 γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν Αἰσχροπραγία, ἐν ἣ  
 νῦν τε πολιτάρχουσα, καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χρεῖται ἐξ ἐκείνου ὡς  
 ταπολά.

πολλὰ καλὰ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ, Δημοκρατίας, ὁ δὲ,  
 ἄλλο, ὃ ἀν' χαίρει· ἐπὶ ᾗ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλή-  
 ρους Δεισιπρατία. Βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ αἰὶ ἡμῖν εἰσὶν οὗτοι  
 δὲ, ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ γένους, ποτὲ δὲ αἵρεσός. ἐγκρατὲς ᾗ τῆς  
 5 πύλης προπολεῖ τὸ πλῆθος· τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίς δίδωσι καὶ  
 κρατὶ τοῖς αἰὶ δόξασιν ἀείροις εἶν· καὶ οὕτω ἀσθενεία,  
 οὕτε πνίκα, οὕτ' ἀγνωσία πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ὁδοίς,  
 οὐδ' τοῖς σπυρρίοις τετίμηται, ὅσπερ εἰ ἄλλαις πόλεσιν  
 ἀλλὰ εἰς ὅρας, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶν, κρατὶ καὶ ἀρ-  
 10 χή. Αἰτία ᾗ ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης, ἡ ἐξ ἴσου γέ-  
 νους· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐκ πρυμναπῶν κατα-  
 κυνασμέναι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνωμαλῶν· ὅτε αὐτῶν ἀνέ-  
 μαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, Τυρανίδες τε καὶ Ολιγαρχίαι.  
 οἰκοῦσι δὲ, οἷσι μὲν δούλους, (Α) δὲ δεσπότας ἑλλήλους  
 15 νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς ᾗ καὶ (Α) ἡμέτεροι, μᾶς μητρὸς πάν-  
 τες ἀδελφοὶ φιλῶτες, ὅτε ἀξιώμεθ' ἀδύλοι ὅτε δὲ δεσπότης  
 ἑλλήλων εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἡ ἰσότης ἡμᾶς ἡ κρατὶ φύσιν ἰσονο-  
 μίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητῆν καὶ νόμοι, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπεί-  
 κειν ἑλλήλοις, ἢ ἀρετῆς δόξῃ καὶ φρονήσεως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν  
 20 πάσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ πεδραμμένοι (Α) πάντες πατέρες, καὶ (Α)  
 ἡμέτεροι, καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοί, καὶ καλῶς φιῶτες, πολλὰ δὴ καὶ  
 καλὰ ἔργα ἀπεφάνησαν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ  
 δημοσίᾳ· οἰόμενοι δὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἑλληνικῆς ὑπὲρ  
 ἑλλήνων μάχεσθαι, καὶ Βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν ἑλλήνων.

Εὐμόλπυ

Εὐμάλπου μὲ οὖν καὶ Ἀμαζώνων ὅτι στρατεύσαντες ὑπὸ  
 πύλῃ χόραν, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ προτέρῳ, ὡς ἡμῶνδε, καὶ ὡς  
 ἡμῶνδε Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς  
 Ἀργείους, ὃ, τε χρόνος βραχὺς ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι, ποιη-  
 τὰς τε αὐτῶν ἡδὲ χαλῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐ μόνον, ὑμνήσαν- 5  
 τες, εἰς πόλιν μεμνύμενοι, ἐὰν οὖν ἡμεῖς ὅτι χειρότερον  
 τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ φιλῶ κοσμεῖν, τάχ' ἂν δούτεσι φανεί-  
 μεθα. πάντα μὲν οὖν ἄρα πάντα δοκῶ μοι εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ  
 καὶ ἔχῃ τὴν ἀξίαν. ὅν δ' οὐτε ποιητὴς καὶ δόξαν ἀξίως  
 ἐπ' ἀξίοις λάβει ἔχῃ, ἐπὶ τὴν οὐ ἀμνηστία, τῶν περὶ 10  
 μοι δοκῶ χρῆναι ὁμιλοῦσθαι, ἐπαμύναται τε καὶ ποιεῖν.  
 μὲντοι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐς πόλιν τε καὶ πύλιν ἄλλῃ πόλιν αὐ-  
 τὴν γῆναι, πορεύεσθαι τὴν πορεύεσθαι.

Ἔστι δὲ τῶν περὶ ὧν λέγω ποῦτοι Πέρσης ἡγεμόνας τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν, καὶ δουλοῦντας τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἔχοντες ὧν τῆδε τὴν 15  
 χώραν ἔχοντες, ὧν ἡμέτεροι οὐκ ἐθέλουσι καὶ χρό-  
 νῳ ποῦτοι μεμνημένους, ἐπαμύναται αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν. Δὲ  
 δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλῃ τις χαλῶς ἐπαμύναται, οὐδ' αὖτε  
 πρὸ χρόνου θνήσκουσιν λόγῳ, ὅτι πάντα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλευε  
 τρίτῳ ἡδὲ βασιλεῖ. ὅν δ' οὐ ποῦτοι, Κύρος, ἐλευθερὸς 20  
 πόλιν Πέρσης τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολίτας πρὸ αὐτοῦ φρονήματα.  
 ἅμα καὶ αὐτὸν δεσπόσαντα Μήδων ἐδούλευσεν, ὧν τῆς Ἀλίας.  
 Ἀσίας μέγας Αἰγύπτου ἡρξεν, ὃ δ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν Αἰγύπτου τε  
 καὶ Λιβύης, ὅσων πόλιν τε ἡν ἐπαμύναται πέποιτος ὧν Δαρείος,  
 περὶ 25

πρὸς τὴν μέγαν Σκυθῶν τῆν ἀρχὴν ὤρεσάτο, καὶ δὲ  
 τῆς τοῦ θαλάττης ἐπερτήσε καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥστε μὴδὲ ἀ-  
 ξιῶν ἀντίπαλον αὐτῷ μνηστῆρα εἶναι. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες δεδουλα-  
 μέναι ἀπάντων ἀνδράπων ἦσαν. οὗτοι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα  
 5 ὑπὸ μάχῃς φῆνι καταδεδουλωμένοι ἦν ἡ Πελοποννησίου ἀρχὴ. Αἰ-  
 πασιμόδῳ δὲ Δαρειῶς ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ερετρεῖας, Σάρδεσιν  
 ὁπλοδουλῶσαι προσφασίζοντο, πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν  
 πεντήκοντα ἔντε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ, ταῦς δὲ τετρακοσίας,  
 Δάτῃ δὲ ἄρχοντα, εἰπεῖν ἢ κεν ἀγνοῖα Ερετρεῖας καὶ Αθη-  
 ποταίους, εἰ βούλοιντο ἢ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ πλεῖ-  
 στας εἰς Ερετρεῖας ἐπ' ἀνδρας δὲ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς  
 αὐτοκλιμακτοῖς ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐκ ὀλί-  
 γων, τύτους ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν πελοποννησίᾳ. διηρώρησας  
 15 δὲ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μνηστῆρας Σποπύριοι τοῖς τῶν  
 τρέπον ὅτι τοῖς ὅμοις ἐλθούσις Ερετρεῖας οἱ στρατιῶται  
 αὐτοῦ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀφαισάντες, σιμῶντες  
 ταῖς χεῖρας, διήλθον ἀπασαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα ἔχοιεν πρὸ βα-  
 σιλῆς εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὅσοις σφᾶς Σποπιφύλιως εἴη. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ  
 ἀφαισάντες κατηγόροντο ἔξ Ερετρεῖας εἰς Μακεδῶνα, ὡς  
 20 ἑτοίμοι σφίσιν ὅτι καὶ Αθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνέβη.  
 ζυζαντας Ερετρεῖαν, ἄγειν. τῶν δὲ, τῶν μὲν προ-  
 χέοντων, ταῦς δ' ὁπλοκλιμακτοῖς, οὗτοι Ερετρεῖαν ἐβόηθη-  
 σιν Ἑλλήνων αὐτοῖς, αὐτοῖς Αθηναίοις, πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίαν.  
 οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑφ' αὐτὰς τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. (Α) δ' ἄλλοι  
 πάντες



πάντες ἑκπεπληγμένοι, ἀναπάντες τὴν εἰς τὴν πρῶτην  
 σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἦσαν. Ἐν τῷ τῷ δὲ αἱ τὶς γινόμενοι  
 γροῖη οἱ αἰετὶς ἐτύγχευον ὅτις τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ Μαραθῶνι  
 δεξάμενοι τὴν τῶν Βαρβάρων δυνάμει, καὶ κολασάμενοι  
 τὴν ὑπερηφάνειαν ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὡς οἱ γῆσοφες  
 πρόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων ἡγέμονες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλ-  
 λοις ἡρόδοτοι ὅτι ἕκαστος εἴη ἡ Περσῶν δύναμις, ἀλλὰ  
 πάντες πληῖος καὶ πᾶς πλεονέχων ἀρετῇ ὑπερίκει. Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐκείνοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν φημι οὐ μόνον τῶν σωματικῶν τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων πατέρων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε 10  
 ἡμετέρας καὶ ξυμπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡπείρῳ. εἰς ἑκ-  
 εῖνο γὰρ ὁ ἔργον ἀποβλέψαντες, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ μάχας  
 ἐτόλμησαν ἀφαιρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας,  
 μαθηταὶ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι ἡρόδοτοι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρετῶνα  
 τῷ λόγῳ ἐκείνοις ἀναγετέον· τὰ δὲ δολιχεύειν, τοῖς περὶ 15  
 Σαλαμίνα καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίᾳ ναυμαχήσασιν καὶ νικήσασιν. καὶ  
 γὰρ τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ μὲν αἱ πῆλιν εἶχον διελθεῖν, καὶ  
 οἷα ὅτιόντα ὑπέμεναν κατὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ χεῖρας θάλασσαν, καὶ  
 ὡς ἡμύναντο ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκείνων κάλλιστον  
 εἶναι, τὴν μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ὅτι ὁ ἐξῆς ἔργον τοῖς Μαραθῶνι 20  
 διεπράξαίτο. α) μὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι τοσούτον μόνον ἐπε-  
 δείξαντο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι καὶ γλῶσσαν οἷον τε ἀμύναντο τοὺς  
 Βαρβάρους, ὀλίγους πολλούς· ναοὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἡν ἀδελφον. καὶ  
 δεῖξαν εἶχον Πέρσαι ἄμαχοι εἶναι καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ πλεονέχων  
 καὶ

καὶ πλῆτ' αὖ, καὶ τέχῃ καὶ ῥόμῃ. τὺτο δ' ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν ὅτε ναυμαχοῦντων, ὅπ' ἐχόμενοι φόβον  
 δέλυσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἔπαισαι φοβερόντας πληθύνειν  
 τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρῃ δ' ἑυμδαίνῃ, τῶν τε  
 5 Μακεδῶνι μαχουμένων καὶ τῷ Σαλαμῶνι ναυμαχοῦν-  
 των, παιδολύτῃαι τὴς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνας, Ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν, καὶ  
 γὰρ, Ὑπὸ δ' ἄλλων, καὶ θάλατταν, μαλόντας καὶ ἐπαθί-  
 ντας μὴ φοβέσθαι τὴς Βαρβάρους. Τρίτοι δὲ λέγω ὅτι  
 Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον καὶ ἀειθμία καὶ ἀρετῇ θμεῖας τῇ Ἑλληναῖς  
 10 σωτηρίας κοινὰ ἦν τὺτο Λακεδαιμονίῳ τε καὶ Ἀθηναίῳ.  
 τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον οὗτοι πάντες ἦμναι,  
 καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἦν τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκωμιάζονται,  
 καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑπείθε χρόνον Ὑπὸ τῷ ὕμνῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ, πολλὰ μὲν πέλει τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ  
 15 ἦσαν μὲν ὅτι Βαρβάρῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἡγήμενος Βασιλεὺς ἀφ-  
 κοῦσας ὡς ὅτι πτωχύνουσι πάλιν ὅτι τὴς Ἑλλήνας. Δίκαιοι  
 δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπιμαρτυροῦναι, οἱ τοῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
 ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέθεσαν, ἀνακαθηρέμενοι καὶ  
 ἐξελεύσαντες πᾶσι ὅτι Βάρβαροι ὅτι τῆς θαλάττης. ἦσαν δ'  
 20 οὗτοι οἱ τε ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ναυμαχοῦντες, καὶ οἱ εἰς Κύ-  
 προν φρατύνοντες, καὶ ὅτι εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλάσσαντες, ὅτι  
 ἄλλοις πολλὰ ὅτι ὡς γὰρ μαρτυροῦναι, καὶ χάρις αὐτοῖς  
 εἰδέναι ὅτι Βασιλεῖα ἐποίησαν δέσποντα, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σωτη-  
 ρία τὸν νοῦν προσέχον, ἄλλα μὴ τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-  
 βουλῇ

βουλεύειν φθορά. ἡ ὅμως μὲν δὴ πάση τῇ πόλει διηπλίχθη  
ὁ πόλεμος, ὑπὸρ' ἑαυτῶν τε ἡ τ' ἄλλαν ὁμοφύσιν, πρὸς  
τὴν Βαρβάρους.

Εἰρήνης δὲ θροονόμος, ἡ τῆς πόλεως τιμωρόν, ἡλ-  
θει ἐκ' αὐτῆς, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ πράτ- 5  
τουσι περὶ αὐτῆς, περὶ τοῦ μὲν ζήλου, ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ,  
φθόρος. ὃ καὶ τῶνδε τῇ πόλει ἀκέραιον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τοῖς  
Ἕλλησι κατέστησε. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο θροονόμου πολέμου,  
συνέβαλον μὲν ἐν Τροάδε, ὑπὸρ' ἡ Βοιωτῶν ἐλδοφείας  
Λακεδαιμονίοις μαχόμενοι· ἀμφισβητήσιμον δὲ ἡ μάχης 10  
θροονόμος, διέκρινε ὃ ὕστερον ἔργον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχοντες ἀπόν-  
τες, καταλιπόντες Βοιωτὸς οἷς ἐβόησαν· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι  
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ Οἰοφύτοις νικήσαντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως φέ-  
ροντας δικαίως κατήσαν. οὗτοι δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὲν Περ- 15  
σικὸν πόλεμον, Ἕλλησιν ἤδη ὑπὸρ' ἡ ἐλδοφείας βοηθῶν-  
τες πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ θροονόμοι, καὶ ἐλευθε-  
ρόσφωτες οἷς ἐβόησαν, ἐπὶ τῶνδε τῷ μῆματι τιμωρόντες  
ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τοῦ ἐπέσπον. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,  
πολλοὶ πολέμου θροονόμου, καὶ πάντων τ' Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-  
στρατεύσαντων, καὶ τιμωρῶν τ' ἡ χώρα, ἡ ἀναξίαν χάριν 20  
ἐκπύοντων τῇ πόλει, νικήσαντες αὐτὸς ναυμαχία οἱ ἡμέ-  
τεροι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Λακεδαιμονίους  
ἐπὶ τῇ Σφαγίᾳ, ἔχον αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρῆσαι, ἐφείσαντο, καὶ  
ἀπέδσαν, ἡ εἰρήνῃ ἐπώησαντο· ἡ θροονόμοι πρὸς μὲν τὸ  
ὁμόφυλον

ἑμὲ φλοῖον ἀέχου· ἡ κῆρ δ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, καὶ μὴ δὲ ὄργῳ ἰδίᾳ  
 πῶς· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διολυγνῶν, ὡς δὲ τοῖς  
 Βαρβάρους, μέχρι ἀφροσύνης. Τύττος δὲ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖσαι  
 τῆς ἀνδρείας, ὅτι τῷτοι τὸ πᾶν πολέμῳ πολεμήσαντες, οὐ γὰρ  
 5 κῆρται, ὅτι ἐπέδωξαν, εἴ τις ἄρα ἠμφισβήτη, ὥς οἱ τῷ  
 πρῶτῳ πολέμῳ τῷ ὡς τῆς Βαρβάρους ἄλλοι τινὲς  
 εἴη ἀμείνους Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀμφισβητοῖεν. ὅτοι  
 γὰρ οὐκ αὖτ' ἐπείθετο, στασιαστικῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὡς γινώ-  
 μενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, τῆς πρῆξιν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων χει-  
 ρορροῦντο, μεθ' ὧν τότε τῆς Βαρβάρους ἐνίκαι κοινῇ, τῶ-  
 ντος καὶ ὅτι ἰδίᾳ.

Τεῖτα· ὅτι πολέμος μὲν παύσει τὴν εἰρήνῃ ἀνέλπι-  
 στος τε καὶ θεὸς ἐγχείσῃ, οὐ γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τελευτή-  
 σαντες, οὐ γὰρ κῆρται· πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν πλεῖ-  
 15 στα τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπαινεῖται, ὡς τῆς Λεοντίων ἐλθούσης, οἷς  
 βοκρῶντες ἀφ' οὗ τῆς ὀρκίας, ἐπλεόσαν· εἰς ὅσους τῆς τό-  
 πας· (ἀφ' οὗ δὲ μῆκος τῆς πλοῦς εἰς ἀπείραν τῆς πόλεως  
 καὶ στασιαστικῆς, καὶ ὅτι διωκόμενοι ἀδύνατον ὑπηρετοῖν, τότε ἀπει-  
 20 πόντες ἐδυστήχοντο· ὡς ὅτι ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἀποσταλέντες  
 πλείων ἐπαινοὶ ὄντες σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἢ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων οἱ φίλοι). πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς κατὰ  
 Ἑλλήσποντον, μᾶλλον μὲν ἡμέτεροι πᾶσι τοῖς τῶν πολέμων  
 ἰσχυροὶ καὶ πολλοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπαι-  
 25 νεῖται καὶ ἀνέλπειται τῶν πολέμων γινώσκειν, καὶ ὅτι ὅτι, ὅ

ὡς τοῦτοι φιλοκικίας ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Ἀλ-  
 λιας, ὅτε ταλμῆσαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ ὑπεκρινάσασθαι  
 βασιλεῖ ἐν κοινῇ ἔξεβαλον μαθ' ἑαυτοῖς, ἰδίᾳ τῷτοι πάλιν  
 ἐπάγασθαι. Βάρβαρον ἐφ' Ἑλλιας, καὶ συνεδρεῖσθαι ὅτι  
 τιῶ πόλιν πάντες Ἑλληνας τε καὶ Βαρβάρους· οὗ δὲ καὶ  
 εὐφανὲς ἐγένετο ἡ τῇ πόλει ῥώμη τε καὶ ἀρετὴ· οἰκιστὴν  
 γὰρ ἦδ' αὐτὴν καθεπεπολεμηῖα, καὶ ἀπελημμένον ὡς  
 Παιτυλῆν τῶν νεῶν, βοηθῶσάντες ἐξέκριντα κακοῖς, αὐτοὶ  
 ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ταῦς, καὶ ἄλλους θνῶνται ὁμολογημέ-  
 νως ἀρετῇ, νικῶσάντες μὲν τῆς πολιορκίας, λυσάμενοι δὲ το-  
 τῆς φίλους, ἀναξίου τύχης τυγχόντες, ὅτε ἀκαχεῖντες  
 ὡς τῆς θαλάσσης, κοῖλαι οὐ γάρ. ὅτι καὶ αἰεὶ μακροθυ-  
 τε καὶ ἐπαμεινῇ τῇ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀρετῇ οὐκίστηναι οὐ  
 μόνον τὴν τότε ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους  
 δόξαν γὰρ δι' αὐτῆς ἡ πόλις ἔχει, μέγιστον αὖ καθεπολεμη-  
 ῖαται μισθ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀλλοῖς ἔδοξε τῇ  
 ὅτι ἡμετέροις αὐτῇ ἀγαθοῖς ἀκρετάσμενοι, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῇ  
 ἄλλῃ. ἀκρίτοι γὰρ ἔτι καὶ καὶ ὑπὸ γὰρ οὐκίστηναι ἐστέ  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐνικήσμενοι καὶ ἡττησμενοι.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἰσχυρὰς θναυόντες, καὶ εὐρίους πρὸς το-  
 τῆς ἄλλους, ὁ οὐκίστης ἡμῶν πόλεμος· οὕτως ἐπολεμήθη,  
 ὥστε ἐπὶ εὐμαρύνοντι οὐκ ἀνδρώπαις σκεπασθαι, μὴ δὲ ἄλ-  
 λως εὐξασθαι μετένα πάλιν εἰς τοὺς κακοῖς. ὅτι τε γὰρ ὁ  
 Πειραεὺς καὶ τῇ Ἀστὸς ὡς ὁμοῖως καὶ οὐκίστης Ἀλλήλων  
 οὐκί-  
 σιμέ-

συνέμελλον αἱ πολῖται, καὶ πρὶ ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν, τότε πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ Ἑλεσῶσι πόλεμοι ὡς μετέωρος ἔδεικτο. καὶ τούτοις ἀπάνται σέθεν ἄλλ' αἴτια, ἢ τῷ ὄντι ἐργασίαι, φιλίας βέβαιαι καὶ ὁμόφυλοι οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ καὶ πρῶτον μὲν. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῷ οὐ τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων ἑαυτῶν ἀλλήλων μυσίας ἔχειν, καὶ ἀφελῶς αὐτοὺς ὡς δυνάμεθα, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις ἐν τοῖςδε τοῖς κρατέουσιν αὐτοῖς εὐχομένους, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς διαπραγμάνομεν καὶ κακὰ ἑαυτοὺς ἡφανίσθημεν, καὶ ὅχι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ δυστυχίαν. οὐ μάλιστα δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐσμεν τούτοις, αἱ ζῶντες. αἱ αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἐκείνοις ἦν, συγγνώμην ἀλλήλοις ἔχουσι ὡς τ' ἐπισημαίνεται, ὡς τ' ἐπαύρομεν.

Μετά δὲ τούτῳ πανταχῶς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν γινομένης, ἥτοι καὶ ἡ πόλις, τοῖς μὲν Βαρβάροις συγγνώσκουσα, ὅτι καὶ παθόντες ἑαυτῶν αὐτῆς κακῶς ἰκανῶς, οὐκ ἐπιδίδως ἡμῖν τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλήσιν ἀγανακτοῦσα, μεμνημένη ὡς οὐ παθόντες ὑπὸ αὐτῆς, ὡς καὶ ἀπέδουσαν, κοπασάμενοι τοῖς Βαρβάροις, τοῖς τε καὶ πάλιν ἐξελόμενοι, αἱ ποτ' ἐκείνους ἴσως, καὶ τέχνη καὶ θάλασσα, ἀντὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς ταπεινὸν ἐπαυλίσσαμεν καὶ πέσιν. Διαπονή δὲ ἡ πόλις μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀρῶνται μήτε Ἑλλήσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλων δουλουμένοις, μήτε ἑαυτῶν Βαρβάρων, οὐδὲ ἑαυτῶν. ἡμῶν οὖν ἐν ταύτῃ ἀφελῶς ὄντων, ἡμεῖς οὐ μόνον διακαταμένοντες τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὅρκους πεπρωμένους ἡμῶν, σφέτεροι δὲ ἡδὲ ἔργῳ εἰς καταδουλοῦσθαι

ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους, ταῦτ' ἐπερτίτοι. καὶ μυκύνει μὲν τί  
 δὲ; ὃ γὰρ πάλαι ὅσθι πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων γηροῦτα λέρνιμ'  
 ἀνὰ τὰ μὲν ταῦτα. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἴσμεν ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἀφί-  
 κοντο εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων ①. ὡς οἱ  
 Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ Κορίνθιοι· καὶ τότε θειότατον πάντων, 5  
 ὃ καὶ Βασιλέα εἰς τῆτο ὀπορίας ἀφικέσθαι, ὥστε περὶ ἡμέ-  
 ρας μνησάμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἢ σωτηρίαν θμεῖς, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ ταύ-  
 τῃς τῆς πόλεως, ἢν περὶ ἡμέρας ἀπώλλυ. καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴ τις  
 βέλοιο τῆς πόλεως κατηρηρῆσαι δικαίως, τῆτ' αὖ μόνον  
 λέγων ὀρθῶς αὖ κατηρηρῆσι, ὡς αἰεὶ λίαν φιλοκτίρμητον ②, 10  
 καὶ τῷ ἥπτιονος θεραπίς. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἔχ-  
 οῖατε ἐθήετο καρτερῆσαι, ὅσθι ἀφελύξαι αὖ ἐδεδόκτο  
 αὐτῇ, τὸ μνηστὴν δουλουμένῳ βοηθεῖν τῷ σφῶς ἀδικησά-  
 των· ἀλλὰ ἐκάμφομαι, καὶ ἐβόηθησε, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλήνας  
 αὕτη βοηθήσασα ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὥς ἐλδύθρας ③, 15  
 μέγχεις ὃ πάλιν αὐτοὶ αὐτὴς κατεδουλώσαντο. Βασιλεῖ  
 δὲ αὕτη μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε βοηθεῖν, ἀχαινομένη τὰ πρέ-  
 πια τά τε Μακεδῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῶνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς. φυ-  
 γάδας δὲ ἐβόηονταὶ εἰσάσασα μόνον βοηθεῖν, ἀμολογου-  
 μέως ἔσωσε, τεχισαμένη δὲ καὶ ταυπηνησαμένη, ἐκδέξα- 20  
 μένη τὴν πολέμων, ἐπειδὴ ἠναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, ὑπὸ Πα-  
 εῖων ἐπολέμει Λακεδαιμονίοις. φοβηθεὶς δὲ Βασιλεὺς τῶν  
 πόλεων, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρα Λακεδαιμονίους πρὸς τὴν γάλατταν πο-  
 λέμῳ ἀπαρρέοντας, ὀποσῆναι βεβόημεν ④, ἐξήτησε τοὺς

Ἑλλήνας

Ελλήνας τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, (ὥσπερ παρ' ἑσσι Λακεδαι-  
 μῶνιοι αὐτῶν ἔξεδσαν, εἰ μέλλοι συμμαχήσειν ἡμῶν τε καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλοις συμμαχοῖς,) ἡγέμενος οὗκ ἐθέλησεν, ἵν' αὐ-  
 τῷ πρὸς φάσις εἴη τ' ἀποστάσις. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄλλων συμ-  
 μαχῶν ἐφύλαττο (ἡγήλασαν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκδιδοῖαι, καὶ ξυνέθεντο  
 καὶ ὤμωσαν, Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι  
 σύμμαχοι, εἰ μέλλοι χρήματα παρέξειν, ἐκδώσει τοὺς ἐν  
 τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἕλληνας) μόνοι δ' ἡμεῖς οὗκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ὅτε  
 ἐκδιώκω, αὐτὴν ὁμῶσαι. Οὕτω δὴ τοι τόγχε τῆς πόλεως  
 ἰοθηαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βέλαιόν τε καὶ ὑγίης ὄψι, καὶ φύσιν μι-  
 σοβάρβαρον, διὰ τὸ εὐλαμπῶς εἶναι Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀμύβεις Βαρ-  
 βάρων. ὅτε γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ Κᾶδμοι, οὐδὲ Αἰγυπτοὶ τε καὶ  
 Δαναοί, οὐδὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί, φύσιν μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες,  
 νόμῳ δ' Ἕλληνας, συνοικῶσιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας, οὐ  
 μισοβάρβαροι, οἰκῶμεν· ὅθεν καθαρόν τ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἐντέτικε  
 τῇ πόλιν τ' ἀλλοτρίας φύσεως. ὅμως δ' οὕτω ἐμονώθημεν  
 πάλιν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν αἰσχερὴν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσα-  
 σθαι, Ἕλληνας Βαρβάρους ἐκδόντες.

Ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς ταῦτα ἔξ ὧν καὶ τοπρῶτερον κατεπο-  
 λεμήθημεν, σιῶν Θεῶν ἄμεινον ἢ τότε ἐθέμεθα τὸν πόλεμον  
 καὶ γὰρ ναῦς καὶ τεῖχη ἔχοντες, καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀπο-  
 κίας, ἀπὸ πηλᾶγγημεν ὅσον πολέμῳ. οὕτως ἀγαπητῶς ἀπὸ πη-  
 λᾶττοντο καὶ ὁ πολέμῳ. ἀνδρῶν μὲντοι ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν  
 τῷ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπαρήθημεν, πάντες ἐν Κορίνθῳ χρυσά-  
 μινον



### 30 ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

μένει δυσχέρεια, καὶ ἐν Λαχίῳ, περὶ δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἧς  
οἱ Βασιλεῖς ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἐσβαλόντες οἱ δὲ θαλάττης  
Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῶς ἀναμενέμεθα, ὑμῶς δὲ  
ἐν τῇ ξυμπαντίᾳ τε καὶ κοσμοῖν τοσούτως ἀνδρα.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔργα ταῦτα τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ἐνθάδε καὶ  
μένει, καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὅσοι ἔσονται τῆς πόλεως πεπαιγμέ-  
καστ πολλὰ μὲν τὰ εἰρημνία ἔκαστα, πολὺ δ' ἐπὶ πλείον  
καὶ καλλίον τὰ ἐπιδεικνύμενα· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ  
νύκτι οὐχ ἵκανα θύοιτο καὶ τὰ πάντα μέλλοντι φεραίνοι.  
τάτῃ οὖν καὶ μεμνημένοις, τοῖς τάτῃ ἐλάτοις πάντ' ἐν  
ἀνδρῶν κορυφαίᾳ, ὅσοις ἐν πόλει, μὴ λείπον  
τίαν τάτῃ τῇ πᾶσι φεραίνοι, μηδ' εἰς ἐκείνῃ ἀναστῆναι,  
ἐκείνῃ καὶ. Εἰς μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτοὺς, ὅσοις ἀνδρῶν  
ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τε κορυφαίᾳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ χεῖρᾳ,  
ἐπὶ αὐτῇ ἐπιτυχάνῃ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀναμίσχῃ καὶ ἀναμίσχ-  
ουσι περὶ μὲν τῇ ἑῇ ὡς ἀείπει. ἐν τῇ περὶ παρὸν δι-  
καιοῦς ἐμὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπέσκηπον ἀπαγῆλ-  
λει τοῖς λειπομένοις, ἐπὶ πάσαις, ἥκα καὶ καθύπερθε ἡμεῖς  
λοι. φερούμεν ἧς ὑμῶν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἡκουσα ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οἱ  
οἱ ἡδύς ἐν ὅποιον ὑμῶν, λαβόντες διανάμεινον περὶ  
μὲν τῇ ἑῇ ὡς τότε ἔλεγον. ἀλλὰ νομίζω καὶ αὐτῶν ἀ-  
κέραι ἐκείνῃ ἀπὸ ἀπαγῆλλαι. ἔλεγον δὲ ταῦτα.

Ὡς οὖν, ὅτι μὲν ἐπὶ πατρίᾳ ἀγαθῶν, αὐτῶν μὲν  
τὰ πᾶσι παρὸν ἡμῶν δὲ ἐκείνῃ ἧς μὴ καλῶς, καλῶς αἰρού-  
μεθα

# ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ. 31

μετὰ μᾶλλον τελευτᾶν, πρὶν ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα εἰς  
 οὐδὲν κατὰσχῆσαι, ἔπειτα τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρων καὶ πάντων  
 τῶν φίλων γένος αἰχμύων ἡρώδης τοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰχμύ-  
 νοντι αἰχμύων εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις οὕτως  
 5 οὕτως φίλοι εἶναι, αὐτὸν ὅτι γῆς, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ γῆς, τελευτή-  
 σονται. Χρὴ οὖν, μεμνημένους τῆς ἡμετέρας λόγου, εἰ  
 καὶ ἄλλο ἀσκήσῃ, ἀσκήσῃ μετ' ἀρετῆς· εἰδόμεναι ὅτι τῆς  
 λειψύμενης πάντας καὶ κτήματα καὶ ἐκτελεσθέντα, αἰχμύ-  
 οὕτως καὶ. οὕτως γὰρ πλεῖστος κάλλος φέρει τῶν κτενημάτων,  
 10 μετ' ἀνθρώπων (ἄλλα γὰρ ὁ τοῦτο πλεῖστον καὶ ἔχει  
 τῶν) οὕτως σώματα κάλλος καὶ ἰσχυρὸν δουλῶ καὶ κτενῶ  
 ξανθοκίοντα, ἀνθρώπων φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς καὶ ἐκ-  
 φαίνεται πᾶσι τῶν ἔχοντα, καὶ ἐκφαίνεται τῶν δουλῶν πᾶσι  
 τε ἐκτελεσμένη χειρὶς ἀνθρώπων διανοουμένη καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς,  
 15 πειραγία, καὶ σοφία φαίνεται. ὁ δὲ ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν  
 ἔπειτα καὶ ἀνθρώπων πᾶσι πάντως τῶν ἀνθρώπων πειραγία  
 ἔχει, ὅπως μάλιστα μετ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν  
 τῶν φίλων εὐχόμενοι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔπειτα ὡς ἡμᾶς, ἀνὴρ μετ' ἀνθρώπων  
 ἡμᾶς ἀρετῆς, καὶ πᾶσι αἰχμύων φέρει, ἡ δὲ ἡμᾶς, εἰ καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 20 μετὰ, ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἡ-  
 κῶντες, εἰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων τῶν τῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξῃ μετ'  
 καταχρηστέμενοι, μετ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν γὰρ ὅτι  
 ἀνθρώπων οὕτως πᾶσι, ὅτι ἔπειτα αἰχμύων καὶ ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπων μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ διὰ δόξῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 μέν

μὴν γὰρ τιμὰς γινέσθαι ἐκρήνους, καλὰς θυσιαστέας καὶ μα-  
 γαλοπρεπείς· χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ χρημάται καὶ τιμῇ θυσια-  
 σῶν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκρήνοις πᾶσι διδόναι, αἰχρὸν καὶ ἀνομι-  
 δρον, ὥστε ἴα ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ κτημάσκειν τε καὶ εὐδοξίαν. καὶ  
 εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ὁπτηθῶσιν, φίλοι πᾶσι φίλους ἡμῶν 5  
 ἀφίξεσθε, ὅταν δὴ ὑμᾶς ἡ παρορήκουσα μοῖρα κομήσῃ.  
 ἀμελήσαντες ἢ ὑμᾶς καὶ κακωθέντες, ὅσοις ἐμὲ μὲν ὑπο-  
 δέξῃ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν παισὶ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθαι.

Πατέρας ἢ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσι, καὶ μητέρας, εἰ χρὴ πᾶσι  
 μιθεῖσθαι, ὥς χρὴ ῥᾶτα φέρειν τιμὴν συμφορῇ, εἰάν τις 10  
 ξυμβῇ θνήσκειν, καὶ μὴ ξυμωδύρεσθαι. (ὅτι γὰρ τῷ λυπησά-  
 ντος παρορῶσινται· ἵνα γὰρ ἔσται καὶ ἡ θνητὴ τύχη τῷτο  
 πορεύεται) ἀλλ' ἰωμένους καὶ παύσαντες, ἀπαμύνησκει αὐ-  
 τὸς ὅτι ὡς εὐχόμεθα, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς ① Θεοὶ ἐπήκου-  
 σήσονται. ὅτι γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὐχόμεθα θνήσκειν, 15  
 ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλείους· ὡς ἔτυχον, μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν  
 ἔσται. πάλιν δὲ οὐ ῥᾶδιον θνητῷ ἀνδρὶ χεῖρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ  
 ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ ἐκβάλλειν. καὶ φέροντες μὲν ἀνδρείως τὰς συμ-  
 φοράς, δόξουσι τῷ ὅτι ἀνδρείων παίδων πατέρες εἶναι, καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ τοῦτοι· ὑπεύκοιτες δὲ, ὑποψίᾳ παμέξουσιν ἢ 20  
 μὴ ἡμέτεροι εἶναι, ἢ ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπαιτῶντες κακωφύουσιν.  
 χρὴ ἢ ὁσάδεα τέτοιον· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μάλιστα πάντων, ἡμῶν  
 ἐπαμείβεσθαι, ἔργῳ πτόχουσαι αὐτοὺς φαινομένους τῷ  
 ὅτι πατέρας ὄντας ἀνδρας ἀνδρῶν. πάλιν γὰρ δὴ τὸ

ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ λεγόμενον, καλῶς δοκῇ λέγεσθαι.  
 τῷ γὰρ ὅτι εὖ λέγεται ὅτι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρτη)  
 πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα, ἢ ἐγγὺς τούτου, καὶ  
 μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἰωρεῖται, ἔξ ὧν ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς  
 5 πρᾶξιόντων πληροῦσθαι ἠάγχεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ τούτῳ  
 ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀγαθὸν ζῆν. οὗτος ὅστις ὁ σώφρων, καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ὁ ἀνδρῆος καὶ φρόνιμος οὗτος, γιγνομένων χρημάτων καὶ  
 παιδῶν, καὶ λυγρομενῶν, μάλιστα σπείσεται τῇ πα-  
 ρουσίᾳ· οὔτε γὰρ χαίρων οὔτε λυγρόμενον ἄγει φαίνοισι),  
 10 ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὸς πεπεισμένος τοῦτους δὲ ἡμεῖς γε ἀξιῶμεν καὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἡμετέρας εἶ), καὶ βουλόμεθα, καὶ φαμέν· καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 αὐτὸς νῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦτους, ὅτι ἀνακακτῆνται, ὅθεν  
 φοβούμενος ἄγει, εἰ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐν τῷ παρόντι. Δεό-  
 μεθα δὲ καὶ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ  
 15 χρωμένους τὸν ὀπίλοιπον βίον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ  
 θρηνηντες ἔδωκεν ὁλοφρεμένοι ἡμᾶς ἡμῖν μάλιστα χαλεποιῶνται  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὅστις τοῖς τελευτήκοσι αἰσθητοῖς πῶν ζῶντων,  
 οὕτως ἀχάριτοι εἴη ἀνὴρ μάλιστα, ἑαυτὸς τε χαλεποιῶν, καὶ  
 βαρέως φέροντες τὰς συμφορὰς· κούφως δὲ καὶ μετρίως,  
 20 μάλιστα ἀνὴρ χαλίζοντο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα τελευτῇ ἤδη  
 ἔξω, ἢ περὶ χαλίστη γίνεται ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε ὡρέπῃ αὐτὰ  
 μάλλον κοσμεῖν ἢ θρηνεῖν. γυναικῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ  
 παίδων ὅτι μελέμενοι καὶ τρέφοντες, καὶ ὅταῦτα τὸν νοῦν  
 D τρέποντες

πρέποντες, τῆς τε τύχης μάλις· ἀν εἴεν ἐν λήθῃ καὶ ζῶεν  
καλλίον καὶ ὀρθότερον, ἢ ἡμῖν προσφιλέστερον.

Ταῦτα δὴ ἱκανὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις πρὶ ἡμῶν ἀγγέλλειν.  
τῇ δὲ πόλῃ προκελευόμεθα· ἀν ὅπως ἡμῖν ἢ πατέρων ἢ  
υἱῶν ἐπιμελήσονται, τοὺς μὲν παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, τοὺς δὲ  
δὲ γρηγοροῦντας, ἀξίως· νῦν ᾧ ἴσμεν ὅτι ἢ ἐὰν μὴ ἡμεῖς  
προκελευόμεθα, ἱκανῶς ἐπιμελήσεται.

Ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ παῖδες καὶ γονεῖς τῶν τελευτησάντων,  
ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπέσκηπτον ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλειν, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς δύνα-  
μαι προθυμότερα ἀπαγγέλλω· καὶ αὐτοὺς δέομαι ὑμῶν ἰο  
ἐκείνων, τῶν μὲν, μιμῆσθαι σὺν αὐτοῖς· τῶν δὲ, παρρεῖν  
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν· ὡς ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ γρηγορη-  
σόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπιμελησομένων, ὅπου ἀν ἔχαστος ἐχέτω  
ἐντυλχέῃ οἱ τοῦ τῶν ἐκείνων. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἑτέρου  
καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμὴν ἐπιμέλεια, ὅτι νόμοις θεμελίῃ φέρει τοὺς τῶν 15  
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παῖδας τε καὶ θνήσκοντας,  
ἐπιμελεῖται· ἢ ἀφαιρόντως τῶν ἄλλων πολυτῶν προσέ-  
τακται φυλάττειν ἀρχὴν ἥπερ μέγιστη ἐστίν, ὅπως ἀν (1)  
τῶν μὴ ἀδικῶνται πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες. τῶν δὲ παῖ-  
δας συνέκτρεφει αὐτῇ, προθυμουμένη ὅτι μάλις· ἀδελφοὶ 20  
αὐτοῖς τιμὴν ὀφθαλμοῖς θάλασσαν· ἐν πατέρες οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς  
ταῦτα αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ, ἐπὶ τε πασι τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἀν-  
δρὲς τέλος ἴωσιν, ἀποπέμψῃ ὅτι τὰ σφέτερά αὐτοῖς, πα-  
νοπλίᾳ κοσμίᾳ· ἐνδεκνυμένη ἢ ἀναμνησκουσα τὰ  
τῶν

πῦ πατρὸς ὅπιτηδεύματ', ὅργανα τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς  
 διδύσα· καὶ ἅμα οἶωνοι χάριν ἀρχέσθαι ἱέου ὅπ' ἐπὶ τῷ  
 πατρῴῳ ἐσίδω, ἀρξέσθαι μετ' ἰσχύος ὅπλεις κακοσημῆδον.  
 αὐτοὺς ἧ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας πᾶσιν οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει  
 5 καὶ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτῇ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιοῦσα κοινῇ  
 πᾶσιν, ἅπερ ἴδια ἐκάσῳ ἴδια γίγνεται. πρὸς ἧ τοῦτοις  
 ἀγωνίας γυμνακοὺς καὶ ἵππικοὺς πηϊῖσα, καὶ μουσικῆς πά-  
 σης· καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τῶν μὲν τελευτησάντων, ἐν κληρονομίᾳ  
 καὶ ἕως μοίρα κατεσηκῶα, τῶν ἧ ἕων, ἐν πατρὸς, γο-  
 10 ούνειν ἧ ἐν τῶν τοιούτων, ἐν ἐπιτρόπῃ· πᾶσαν πάντων πρὸς  
 πάντα χρόνον ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖμένη. ὅτι χρὴ ἐθιμωδύτους,  
 πρῶτον φέρειν τὴν ξυμφορὰν. τοῖς δὲ τελευτήσασιν καὶ  
 τοῖς ζῶσιν οὕτως ἀνὰ προσφιλέσας εἴητε, καὶ ῥᾶτοι θερά-  
 πδων τε ἐν θεραπείᾳ. ἦν δὲ ἤδη ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοι  
 15 πάντες, κοινῇ χρεὶ τὸ νόμον τῆς τετελευτηκότας ἀπολοφυ-  
 ρέμενοι, ἀπὸ τῆς

ΣΩ. Οὗτός σοι ὁ λόγος, ὦ Μενέξενε, Ασπασίας τῆς  
 Μιλησίας ὅςτι. ΜΕ. Νῆ Δία, ὦ Σάκρατες, μακαρίαν  
 20 γὰρ λέγεις τὴν Ασπασίαν, εἰ γυνὴ οὕσα τοιούτους λόγους  
 οἶα τ' ὅςτι συντηδέναι. ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πιστεύεις, ἀκο-  
 λούη μετ' ἐμοῦ, ἐν ἀκρόσῳ αὐτῆς λεγόνσης. ΜΕ. Πο-  
 λάκις, ὦ Σάκρατες, ἐγὼ ἐν τετύχηκα Ασπασίᾳ, καὶ οἶδα  
 οἶα ὅςτι. ΣΩ. Τί οὖν; Οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ αὐτήν, ἐν ἣν χάριν  
 ἔχεις

## 36 ΠΛΑΤ. ΕΠΙΤΑΦ.

ἔχεις τὸ λόγου αὐτῇ; ΜΕ. Καὶ πολλοὺς, ὦ Σό-  
 κrates; ἐγὼ χάριν ἔχω πρὸς τοῦ λόγου χάριν, ἢ οὐκ οὖν  
 ὅστις σοι ὁ εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων πολλῶν  
 χάριν ἔχω πρὸς εἰπόντι. ΣΩ. Εὖ ἀν' ἔχει· ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ  
 μὴ κατερῆς, ἵνα ἔῃ αὐτῇ σοι πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους,  
 πρὶν αὐτῇ πολιτικῆς ἀπαγγέλλω. ΜΕ. Θάρρῃ, ἔ' κατε-  
 ρῆς μόνον ἀπάγγελαι. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἔσται.

# Λ Τ Σ Ι Ο Υ

## Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ

Τ Ο Ι Σ

Κ Ο Ρ Ι Ν Θ Ι Ω Ν Β Ο Η Θ Ο Ι Σ.

**Ε**Ι μὲν ἡγάμην οἷόν τι εἶναι, ὦ παρόντες, ὑπὲρ τῶνδε  
τῶ τάφῳ, λόγῳ δηλώσαι τῇ τῶν ἐνθάδε κεμένων  
ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῇ, ἐμεμφάμενον ἀνὰ τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι ἐπ' αὐ-  
τοῖς ἔξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λέγειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι ἀν-  
5 θράποισι ὁ πᾶς χρέσιος ἔχῃ ἰσχυρὸς λόγον ἴσῃσι κορυφαίω-  
σαι τοῖς τέτῳ ἐργοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκῇ  
προνομία τῇ ἐνθάδε λεγόντων, ἔξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρέστα-  
ξιν ποιῶν· ἡγεμένη οὕτως ἀνὰ μέγιστα συνηθίμους αὐτοὺς  
κορυφαίᾳ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τυγχάνειν. ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν λόγος  
10 μοι δοκῇ τέτῳ, ὁ δ' ἀγὰρ ἔτι πρὸς τὰ τέτῳ ἔργα, ἀλλὰ  
πρὸς τὰς πρῶτας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκότα. τοσαύτῳ γὰρ  
ἀφροδίτῃ παρεσκευάσθαι ἢ τούτων ἀρετῇ καὶ τοῖς ποιεῖν  
διωκτέσι καὶ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βουληθεῖσι, ὥστε καλὰ μὲν  
πολλὰ τοῖς πρῶτοις δοκῇ αὐτῇ εἰρηκότα, πολλὰ δ' ἐ  
καὶ



καὶ ἐκείνοις ὥρᾳ λελείφθαι· ἵκανα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀπιηγο-  
 μένοις ἔξῃται εἰπεῖν. οὕτε γὰρ γῆς ἀπειροὶ οὕτε θαλάττης  
 ὁδὲ μιᾶς, πολλὰ γὰρ ἢ καὶ ὥρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ① τὰ  
 αὐτῶν περὶ ὄντες κακὰ, τοὺς τέττον ἀρετὰς ὑμῖσι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τῆς παλαιοῦς κινδύνους τῶν περὶ γένων 5  
 δίδωμι, μνήμην ὥρᾳ τῆς φήμης λαβόν. ἄξιον γὰρ πᾶσιν  
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ κείνων μεμνηθῆναι, ὑμνοῦνταί μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὠ-  
 δαῖς, λέγοντας δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμασι, τιμῶντας  
 δ' ἐν τοῖς χειροῖς τοῖς ποίητοισι, παιδύονταί δ' ἐν τοῖς  
 περὶ ὄντων ἔργοις τῆς ζῶνταί. Ἀμαζόνες μὲν γὰρ, Ἀρεὸς μὲν 10  
 τοπαλαῖον ἦσαν θυγατέρες, οἰκῶσαι δὲ ὥρᾳ τὴν Θερμώ-  
 δουσαν ποταμῶν, μῆναι δὲ ὀπλισμέναι σιδήρῳ τῶν ὡρᾳ αὐ-  
 τὰς, ὡρῶνταί δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ' ἵππων ἀναβαῖναι, οἷς  
 ἀνελπίστας, δι' ἀπειρίας τῶν ἐν γένει, ἔργῳ μὲν τοὺς  
 φέρουσι, ἀπέλειπον δὲ τοὺς δῶκονταί. ἐνομιζόντο δὲ 15  
 ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εὐφύχῃ μᾶλλον ἄνδρες, ἢ ἀφ' οὗ τὴν φύσιν γυ-  
 ναικες. πλέον γὰρ ἐδόκει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀφ-  
 φέρειν, ἢ ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν. ἄρχουσαι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν,  
 καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τῆς ὡρᾳ αὐτὰς κατὰ δεδουλωμένα, λόγῳ γὰρ  
 ὡρᾳ τῇσδε τῆς χώρας ἀκούουσι κλέος μέγα, πολλῆς δὲ 20  
 ξηρῆς καὶ μεγάλῃς ἐλπίδι. ὡρᾳ λαβούσαι τὰ μα-  
 χιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐστράτευσαι ὅτι τῇσδε τὴν πόλιν.  
 τυγχῶσαι δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁμοίαις ἐκλήσαντο ταῖς ψυχὰς  
 τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν δόξαν τῆς περὶ τῆς λαβούσαι,  
 μᾶλλον

μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν κηδόνων ἢ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἔδοξαν εἶναι  
 γυναικες· μόναις δ' αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐξεμύετο ἐκ τῶν ἡμαρτη-  
 μάτων μαρδούσαις παρὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄμενοι βουλεύσασθαι,  
 ὅς οἱ χάρις ἀπελθούσαις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τίω τε σφετέρῃσι αὐτῶν  
 5 δυστυχίῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἡμετέρων παρηγόριον ἀρετῇ. αὐτὰς  
 γὰρ σποδαῖνσαι, καὶ δοῦσαι δίκην τῆς ἀνοίας, τῆσδε μὲν τῇ  
 πόλεως, ἀφ' ἧς τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀθάνατοι μῆμνη ἐποιήσαντο,  
 τῇ δὲ ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, διὰ τὴν οὐ γὰρ συμφορὰν, ἀνίστη-  
 μιν χεστήσασαι. ἐκείναι μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀδίκως ὅπι-  
 10 γμήσασαι, τῇ αὐτῶν δικαίως ἀπώλεσαι.

Ἀδράστῃ γ' καὶ Πολυωείκῃς ὅτι Θήβας στρατοκραντων,  
 καὶ ἡπληθέντων μάχῃ, οὐκ ἔσονται τῶν Καδμείων γάπτες  
 τῆς νεκρῆς, Ἀθηναῖοι ἡμιστάμενοι ἐκείνοις μὲν, εἴπερ ἡδίκηται,  
 σποδαῖνόντας δίκην ἔχειν τὴν μεγίστην, τῆς γ' ἡλπίσται αὐ-  
 15 τῶν καὶ κομίζεσθαι, ἱερῶν γ' ματαιομένων τῆς αἰῶν Θεῶς ἀσπ-  
 βείας, τὸ μὲν παρὸν πέμψαντες κήρυκας, ἔδδοτο αὐ-  
 τῶν δοῦναι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν· νομίζοντες ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἀγα-  
 θῶν εἶναι ζῶντας τῆς ἐχθρῆς πικρῆς πικρῆς, ἀπιστούντων δὲ  
 σφίσι αὐτοῖς, ἐν τοῖς τῶν περνεύων σώμασι τῇ εὐψυχίᾳ  
 20 ὀπιθιδεύουσαι. καὶ δυνάμενοι γ' τέττοις τυχεῖς, ἐσπράττευσαν  
 ἐπ' αὐτὰς, ὅδ' ἡμῶς ἀφ' ὧν παρὸν παρὸν Καδμείους  
 ὑπαρχούσης, ὅδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ζῶσι Ἀρβείων χαλεζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῆς  
 περνεύσας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν νομιζομένων τυλ-  
 χάνειν, παρὸς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρω ἐκκένεινται.

ὑπὸ

ὥρ' ἔμεινεν, ἵνα μὴ κέπῃ εἰς τὴν πεδιῶντα, ἔξαμαρτάνοντες, πλείω φέει τοὺς Θεοὺς ἔξυβρίσωσιν. ὥρ' δὲ ἔ' ἑτέρω, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς περὶ εἰς πλὴν αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωσι, πατρὸς τιμῆς ἀτυχήσαντες, καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου τηρήντες, καὶ κοῆς ἐλπίδ' ἡμαρτηκότες. ταῦτα ληθισθέντες, 5 καὶ τὰς ὅτι τῷ πολέμῳ τύχας, κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτάμενοι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμμαχον, οἷον μαχόμενοι. ἔ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῇ τύχῃ ἐπαρθέντες, μέζονος πρὸς Κασμείῳ τιμωρίας ἐπεθύμουν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσθείας τ' ἑαυ- 10 τῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ἄθλα ὥν περ ἔνεχε ἀφίκοντο, τὴν Ἀργείων νεκροὺς ἔδωκαν ὡς τῇ αὐτῶν Εὐδοσίῃ. φέει μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τῶν ἐπὶ ὅτι θῆρας τοῖς τοι γένεσιν.

Τέτρω δὲ χρόνῳ, ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων 15 ἠφανίσθη, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἔφευγον μὲν Εὐρυπύδα, ἔξηλαύνοντο δὲ ὥς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αἰχματομένων μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις, φοβουμένων δὲ πλὴν Εὐρυπύδα διώματι, ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἰκέται ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ ἐκαθέζοντι. ἔξαι- 20 ταμένους δὲ αὐτοὺς Εὐρυπύδα, Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐκδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἡρακλῆος ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἠδύντο, ἢ τὴν κίνδυνον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ ἡξίουσαν ὥς τῶν ἀσθενέστερων μὲν τοῦ δίκαιου ἀφαιμάχοντος μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῖς δυναμένοις χαλκίζοντες τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἀδικυμένους ἐκδοῦναι.

ὄναι· ὅπισθε αὐτοὶ σάντες δ' Εὐρυθέως μὲν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 τῷ χρόνῳ Πελοπόννησον ἐχόντων, οὐκ ἐγγὺς τ' Δειῶν γε-  
 νόμῃσι μετέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐῖχον γνάμῃ ἥτερ  
 πρὸς περὶ· ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὸς αὐτῶν  
 5 πεποιηθότες, οὐκ οἷος τ' ἐκ εἰδότες ὁποῖοί τις ἄνθρωπος ἔστι-  
 ται θηρόμῃσι δίκαιοι δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὐ πρὸς τὰς  
 ἔχθρας ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς Εὐρυθέα, οὐδὲ κέρδους πρὸς  
 κελεύειν, πλὴν δόξης ἀγαθῆς, τοσούτοις κινδύνοις ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῶν ἦσαν· οὐ μὲν ἀδικησάντες ἐλεῦντες, τὰς δ' ὑβρί-  
 10 ζοντας μισθύντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν καλύειν ὀπτηχευόμενοι, τοῖς  
 δ' ἐπακουρεῖν ἀξιῶντες. ἡγήμῃσι ἐλδοθρίας μὲν σημείον  
 εἶναι, μὴ δὲ ποιεῖν ἄκοντας, δικαιοσύνης δ', τοῖς ἀδικου-  
 μένοις βοηθεῖν· εὐψυχίας δ', ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων, εἰ  
 δέοι, μαχομένους σποδῆσκειν. τοσούτοις δ' ἐφρόνουν ἀμ-  
 15 φότεροι, ὡς δ' ὅ μιν μετ' Εὐρυθέως οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐχόντων  
 ἐξήτου ἐύεισπεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἡξίου Εὐρυθέα  
 αὐτὸν ἰκετεύοντα τὸς ἰκέτας αὐτῶν ἐξελεῖν. πρὸς ταῖς ἀ-  
 μῃσι δ' ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει τῇ ἐξ ἀπάσης Πελοποννήσου στρα-  
 τὴν ἐλδοῦσαν εἶχαν μαχόμενοι· καὶ τῶν παίδων τὰ μὲν  
 σώματα εἰς ἄσπετον κατέστησαν, ἀπαλλάξαντες δὲ τὸ δέος  
 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡλευθέρωσαν, ἀφ' ἧς τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρε-  
 τῇ, οὐκ οἷος δὲ τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδύνοις ἐτεφάρισαν· τοσού-  
 20 τον δ' εὐτυχέστεροι παῖδες ὅτις ἐθρόντο τῷ πατρί· ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ, καίπερ ὢν ἀγαθὸν πολλῶν αἵτιος ἀπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων,

ἐπίπτοι καὶ φιλόεσσι καὶ φιλότιμοι αὐτῷ κρατήσας τῆ  
βίῃ, τὲς μὲν ἄλλες ἀδικουῦσιν ἐκόλασεν, Εὐρυθέα δὲ  
καὶ ἔχθρην ὄντα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, ἔχ' οἶός  
τε ἢ πικρῶσαι. ① δὲ παῖδες αὐτῷ ἀφ' ἧς τήνδ' τὴν  
πρόλιν τῇ αὐτῇ εἶδον ἡμέρᾳ τινὶ θ' ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν, καὶ 5  
τῇ πᾶν ἔχθρῳ πικρῶσαι.

Παλλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ταῖς ἡμετέροις παρρησίαις μὲν  
γνώμῃ χρημῶντος πρὸς τῷ δικαίῳ ἀφ' ἧς ἀφ' ἧς  
ἀρχὴ τῷ βίου δικαία. ὅ γάρ, ὥσπερ ① παλλὰ, πα-  
ταχόθεν σικελεργῶν, καὶ ἐτέρους ἐκβαλόντες, τῇ ἀλ-ιο  
λοτείᾳ ἔκκοιται, ἀλλ' αὐτόχρονος ὄντες, τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκεί-  
νῃ μὲν καὶ παρρησίᾳ. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ μόνον ἐν  
ἐκείνῃ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκβαλόντες τὰς πρὸς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δυ-  
νατείας, Δημοκρατίαν κρατήσαντο. ἡγεμόνι τὴν πάντων  
ἐλδοφείαν, ὁμοῦσαι εἶσι μεγίστην κοινὰς δ' ἀλλήλοισι ταῖς 15  
ἐκ τῶν κωδύων ἐλπίδας ποιήσαντες, ἐλδοφείας ταῖς  
ψυχαῖς ἐπαλιόοντο· νόμον τὸν ἀγαθὸν τιμῶντες καὶ τὸν  
κακὸν κολάζοντες· ἡγεμόνι θύειαν μὲν ἔργον εἶ), ὑπὸ  
ἀλλήλων βίαν κρατῶνται, ἀνθρώποις δὲ παρρησίαν, νόμον  
μὲν ὁρῶντι ὁ δίκαιον, λόγῳ δὲ πείσῃ, ἔργῳ ἢ τέττοις ὑπὸ 20  
ρετῇ· ὑπὸ νόμον μὲν βασιλευσύνῃ, ὑπὸ λόγῳ ἢ διδα-  
σκαλῇ. καὶ γάρτοι καὶ φύντες καλῶς, καὶ γόντες ὁ-  
μιᾶ, πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ① παρρησίᾳ τῶν  
ἐνθάδε κεκμημένων ἐργάσαντο· αἰετῶν ἢ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ  
κατὰ

παταχούσιν αἱ ἕξ ἐκείνων γενοότες πρόσωπα διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν  
 ἀρετὴν κατέλιπον. μόνον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν Βαρβάρων δις ἐκινδύνισαν.  
 ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, οὗκ ἀγαπῶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν  
 5 ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐλπίσει καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ δουλώσεσθαι,  
 ἔπειθε πεντήκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶν. ἡγεμόνιοι δὲ, εἰ  
 τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἢ ἐκοῦσαν φίλῃ ποιήσαντο, ἢ ἀκύναν  
 κατασφραγίσαντο, ἱερῶς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἄρξεν, ἀπέθε-  
 σαν εἰς Μαρμαρίνα νομίσαντες οὕτως εἰ ἐρημοτάτους εἶναι  
 10 συμμαχῶν σὺν Ἑλλήναις, εἰ, ἐπὶ στασιάζουσιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 ὥπῃ χρὴ πρόσω τὸς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι, τὸν κίνδυνον ποι-  
 ῆσαντο. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔργων φεῖ τ' εὐ-  
 λωὸς τοιαύτη δόξα πρὸς τῆς, ὥς εἰ μὲν πρῶτες ἐπ'  
 ἄλλῃ πόλιν ἴωσι, ἐκείνοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμους  
 15 προθύμως γὰρ τοῖς ἀδικεμένοις ἥξουσιν βοηθήσοντες. εἰ δ'  
 οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτον ἀφίξονται, ἐτόθιαι ἄλλοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 πολέμοισιν, ἐτέρους σώζονται, φανεράν ἔχθραν πρὸς ἐκ-  
 εῖνοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ καταλείπειν. ① μὴ τοίῳ ταῦτα  
 διανοῶντο· οἱ δ' ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι, ἐν λογισμῷ εἰδότες τὸς  
 20 εἰς τὴν πολέμῳ κινδύνους, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες τὸν ἐν λείᾳ  
 θάλασσιν ἀγίαστον φεῖ τ' ἀγαθῶν καταλείπειν λόγον, οὗκ  
 ἐφοβήθημεν τὸ πλῆθος τ' ἐναντίον, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ  
 μαῶν ὁπίστευμεν. καὶ αἰχμησόμενοι ὅτι ἤντι οἱ Βάρβαροι αὐτῶν  
 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐκ ἀνέμειναν πυθέσθαι ὅδε βοηθήσασιν τὸς συμμα-  
 χους.

χυς· οὐδ' ὤηθησαν δ' εἰς ἐτέροις τ' σωτηρίας χάριν εἶδέναι,  
 ἀλλὰ σφίσι καὶ αὐτοῖς τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλήνας. ταῦτα μὲν γινώ-  
 μη πάντες γινώσκουσιν, ἀπὸ πάντων ὀλίγοι παρὰ πολλούς. ἐνὶ οὐρανῷ  
 γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς μὴ πάντων παρὰ πάντων, ἀγαθούς δ'  
 εἶναι μὲν ὀλίγων· καὶ ταῖς μὲν ψυχαῖς ἀλλοτριᾶς ἀφ' ἧς τ' ἡ 5  
 νατοὶ κακῶν, τὴν δ' ἐκ τ' κινδύνων μνήμην ἰδίαν χα-  
 ταλείψουσιν. ἡξίου δ' οὐδὲ μὴ μόνον νικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ μὴ συμ-  
 μάχων δύνασθαι· καὶ ἡττηθέντες μὲν, ὀλίγοι πάντων ἄλλων  
 παρὰ πάντων, νικῶντες δ', καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐλευθερώσειν.  
 ἄνδρες δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἡρώδης, καὶ πάντων μὲν σωμάτων ἀφειδή- 10  
 σαντες, ὑπὸ δ' ἐπὶ ἀρετῆς οὐ φιλοψυχίσαντες, ἐμὰ λ-  
 λον τῆς πατρὸς αὐτοῖς νόμους ἀντιτάσσοντες, ἢ τὴν παρὰ τοὺς  
 πολεμικούς κινδύνους φοβούμενοι, ἔστην μὲν πρόστατα ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ὑπὲρ  
 χρημάτων εἰς τιμὴν ἀλλοτριᾶν ἐμβαλόντων παρὰ τοὺς ὀρ- 15  
 κούς. οὕτω γὰρ διὰ ταχέων τὸν κινδύνον ἐποίησαν, ὥστε  
 αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγειλαν τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀφίξιν τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων καὶ τὴν πάντων παρὰ πάντων νίκην. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὅσοις τ'  
 ἄλλων εἶδεν ὑπὲρ τῆς μέλλοντος κινδύνου, ἀλλ' ἀκρί- 20  
 σαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡσθίον. ὥστε ὅσοις γὰρ  
 μακρῶν, παλαιῶν ἔργων γνησιμῶν, ὥσπερ καινῶν ὄντων,  
 ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζη-  
 λουμένη.

Μετά

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὁ τῆς Ασίας βασιλεύς, κα-  
 ταφρονήσας μὲν τῆς Ελλάδος, ἐψευσμένος ᾧ ἔῃ ἐλπίδες,  
 αἴψμαζόμενος ᾧ τὸ γῆμυμύω, ἀχλόμενος ᾧ τῇ συμ-  
 φορᾷ, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἀπαθῆς δ' ὦν κακῶν καὶ  
 5 ἄπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀλᾶθων, δεκάτῳ ἔτι ὠδυσσευσάμενος,  
 χιλίαις μὲν καὶ ἀγχοσίαις ναυσὶν ἀφίκετο τῆς δὲ περὶ  
 στρατῶς οὕτως ἄπειρον τὸ πλῆθος ἦγει, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἔθνη  
 τὰ μετ' αὐτῷ ἀκολυθῆσαντα πολὺν ἀν' ἔργον εἶη χαλεπῶς  
 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σημεῖον τοῦ πλήθους· ἔξον γὰρ αὐτῷ χιλίαις  
 10 ναυσὶ ἀναβιάσαι καὶ ὁ σφόδρα τῶν Ἑλλησπόντων ἔπε-  
 ζῃν στρατὸν ὅκ τῆς Ασίας εἰς πῶν Εὐρώπῳ, ὅθι ἐδέ-  
 λησει, ἡγόμενος τὴν ἀνατολὴν αὐτῷ πᾶσι πᾶσι  
 ἀλλ' ὑπερδὸν καὶ τὰ φύσιν πεφυκότα καὶ τὰ θεῖα περὶ  
 μακά, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους ἀνθρώπους, ὅδον μὲν διὰ τῆς θα-  
 15 λάσσης ἐποιήσατο, πλοῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς ἡγάγετο ἡμέ-  
 ρα· ζεύξας μὲν ἔῃ Ἑλλησπόντον, διέρχεται ᾧ τὸν Ἀῶν ὑφι-  
 σταμένην ἔδον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν μὲν, ἀκόντων ὑπακύντων, ἔ  
 δὲ, ἐκόντων περὶδόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἰχθυοὶ ἦσαν ἀμύ-  
 ναοι, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ χρημάτων διεφθαρμένοι ἀμφοτέρω  
 20 δ' ἢ αὐτῶν τὰ πείθοντα, κέρδος καὶ δέ. Ἀθηναῖοι δ'  
 ἔπειτα ἀνακρινόμενοι τῆς Ελλάδος, αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς  
 εἰσεβύτες, ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιοι ἐβόηθη, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ἔ  
 συμμαχῶν ἔτι εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπῆλθον, ἡγόμενοι διὰ  
 ἔῃ σφόδρα τῶν χερσίων τὴν πᾶσιν οἰοί τε ἔπειτα ἀναφύ-  
 λασται



λάξαι θρομόνους δὲ ἔκινδύνει χεὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐδὲ ταῖς  
 ψυχαῖς ἐνδεεῖς θρομόμοι, ἀλλὰ ἔκ πλήθους φειδόμενοι, καὶ  
 οὐς φυλάξουσιν ὥσπερ, καὶ τοὺς οὐς κινδυνεύουσιν ἔμμελλοι, ἔχ-  
 ῃ πηλὴν τῶν ἐλαπίων, ἀλλ' ἀποθρόνοντες ὑπερ' ἐπαχθῆς 5  
 μάχεσθαι. τότε γὰρ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν μὲν δυσχεραίνοντων, πῶς  
 δὲ τῆς πρῶτου κρατησάντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο ὅτι τῆς  
 τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τῶν οὖν πυθόμενοι μὲν τὴν γε-  
 νησιώτικον Λακεδαιμονίους συμφεραίν, ἀπορροῦντες δὲ τοῖς  
 φειδόμενοι τῶν ἑλπίσιν, εἰδότες δ' ὅτι εἰ μὲν καὶ γὰρ τοῖς 10  
 Βαρβάροις ἀπαυτῆσονται, ὅτι πλοῦσαιτες χιλίαις ναυσὶ  
 ἐρήμην τὴν πόλιν λήψον· εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς τριῖνας ἐμβήσου-  
 νται, ὑπὸ τῆς πεζῆς στρατῆος ἀλώσονται ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ ἔ-  
 δυνάσονται, ἀμύνανταί τε καὶ φυλακὴν ἱκανὴν καταλιπεῖν.  
 οὖν δὲ τῶν οὖν οὖν, ὥστε καὶ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλι- 15  
 πεῖν, ἢ μὲν τῶν Βαρβάρων θρομόμοις καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας, ἢ θρομόμοις κρείττοις (εἰ) μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ πειρίας καὶ  
 φυχῆς ἐλευθερίαν, ἢ μετ' ὀνείδους καὶ πλῆθους δουλείαν καὶ  
 πατρίδα, ἐξέλπιον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν πόλιν ἢ  
 εἰ μὲν τῶν οὖν ἐλαττέρων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα 20  
 τὰς δυνάμεις κινδυνεύουσι. ὑπερθέμενοι τῶν οὖν καὶ γε-  
 νησιῶν καὶ κηρύσσας εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, σιμῆσθαι καὶ ὅ τῶν  
 ἄλλων συμμάχων ναυπλοῖ. οὐ πολλὰς δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις  
 ἦλθε καὶ ἡ πεζὴ στρατῆος, καὶ τὸ ναυπλοῖ τὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων,  
 ὃ τις

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ.

47

ὅ τις οὐκ ἀνιδῶν ἐφοβήθη; οἷος μέγας καὶ δεινὸς τῶν  
τῇ σῶσιν κίνδυνος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἠγωνί-  
σθη; ποῖαι δὲ γνώμην εἶχον ἢ οἱ θεῶμαι τοὺς οἱ ταῖς  
καυστὶν ὀρέοντες (οὗτος καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἀπίστευ-  
ς καὶ παροργιστὴς τῶν κινδύνου) ἢ οἱ μέλλοντες ναυμαχήσων  
ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλοσύνης, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οἱ Σαλαμι-  
νίαις; τοσούτοις παυ(α)ρχοῖν ὁδεύοντες πληθύνοντες πολεμίσαντες,  
ὥστε ἐλθόντες μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς τῶν παρόντων χαλῶν τὴν θά-  
λασσαν τὸν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς αὐτὸν παρορνεύοντες, μεγίστην τὴν συμφο-  
ραν ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρίας ἐντυχισάντων τῆς ὑπεκτινίσαντες  
ἡλπίοντες πείσονται

Ηπει, διὰ ἧς ὑπάρχουσαι Σαπρίαν, πολλάκις μὲν ἐδ-  
 ξώσαντο ἀλλήλους, εἰκότως δὲ σφὰς αὐτὲς ἐλαφύραντα  
 εἰδότες μὲν τὰς σφετέραις καὶς ὀλίγας οὔσας, ὁρῶντες δὲ  
 15 πολλὰς τὰς τῆς πολεμίων ὀπιζόμενοι δὲ τὴν μὴ  
 πάλιν ἡγεμονίῃν, τὴν δὲ χάραν πορδουμένην, καὶ με-  
 τιὼ τῆς βαρβάρων ἱερῶν δὲ χειρομύων, ἀπάντων δ' ἐγγὺς  
 ὕπνῳ τῶν δυνάων ἀκούσιντες δ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ συμμιγμένους  
 Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βαρβαρικῶν παιᾶν(Θ), ὡς κελευσμοδ' ὁ  
 20 ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ κραυγῆς τῆς ἀφροδισμένης, καὶ τῆς θα-  
 λῆτης μετῆς τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν συμπεπτότων, ἔ-  
 φίλιν καὶ πολεμίων καυαγίαι, ἀντιπάλου ἧς πάλιν χεῖρας  
 οὔσης τῆς καυμαχίας· ἀκούοντες τοτὲ μὲν νεικηκέναι καὶ σ-  
 πῶσαι, τοτὲ δ' ἠτήσας καὶ ἀπολωλέναι ἥκιστα, διὰ τὰς  
 παρόντας

παρόντα φόβον πολλά μὲν ᾤκησεν ἰδεῖν ὧν οὐκ εἶδον, πολλά  
 δ' ἀκῶσαι ὧν οὐκ ἤκουε. ποῖα δ' ἔχ' ἱκετεύει Θεῶν ἐγέ-  
 νοτο, ἢ θυσῶν ἀιαμνήσεις; ἑλεός τε παίδων, καὶ γυναικῶν  
 παύσθαι, οἰκτός τε πατέρων καὶ μητέρων; λογισμός τε, εἰ  
 δυστυχῆσαι, ἢ μελλόντων ἔσται χακῶν; τίς ἔκ' ἀν' Θεῶν 5  
 ἡλέησεν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κινδύνου; ἢ τίς  
 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀν' ἐδάκρυεν; ἢ τίς τῆς τόλμης αὐ-  
 τὸς ἔκ' ἀν' ἠγάθη; Ἡ πολὺ πλείστον ἑκείνοι χατὰ τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δῖνελχε καὶ οἱ τοῖς βουλευ-  
 μασι καὶ οἱ τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύοις. ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τ' 10  
 πόλιν, εἰς τὰς ναῦς δ' ἐσβούτες, τὰς δ' αὐτῶν ψυχὰς  
 ὀλίγας οὖσας ἀντιτάξαντες τῷ πλήθει τῷ τ' Ἀσίας. ἐπέ-  
 δεῖξον δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ὅτι  
 κρείττον μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας κινδυνεύειν,  
 ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν βασιλευσμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρας δουλείας. 15  
 πλείστα δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα ἑκείνοι ὑπὲρ τ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθε-  
 ρίας συνεβόλοντο, στρατηγὸν μὲν, Θεμισκλέα, ἰσχυρότατον  
 εἶπεν, καὶ γνώαι, καὶ παρῆσαν ναῦς ἣ πλείους τ' ἄλλων  
 ἀπάντων συμμαχῶν, ἄνδρας δ' ἐμπειροτάτους. καίτοι τί-  
 νες ἀν' τούτοις τ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἦεν γνώμη, καὶ πλήθος, καὶ 20  
 ἀρετὴ; ὥστε δικαίως μὲν καὶ ἀναμνηστικῶς ἀρετῆς τῆς  
 ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον παρὰ τ' Ἑλλάδος, εἰκότως ἣ τ' εὐτυ-  
 χίᾳ ὁμοιοῦσιν τοῖς κινδύοις ἐκτίσαντο. γησίαν δὲ καὶ  
 αὐτόχθονα τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάρους τ' αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ  
 ἐπεδεί-

ἐπεδείξαντο. ὃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιάυτης αὐτὰς πα-  
ραστήσαντες, καὶ πολὺ πλείους τῶν κινδύνων μετὰσθόντες, τῇ  
ἰδίᾳ ἀρετῇ κοινῶς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκτῆ-  
σθαιτο.

- 5 Ὑστερον δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἀφεισχεζόντων ἢ Ἰωμόν, καὶ  
ἀγαπήσαν μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, νομιζόντων δ' ἀπηνάχθαι ἔ-  
τι θάλασσαν κινδύνου, καὶ ἀφαισχυμένων τῆς ἄλλους Ελ-  
ληνας φειδεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς Βαρβάραις θυμολύγας, ὀργισθέντες  
Ἀθηναῖοι συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς, εἰ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην  
10 ἔξουσιν, φεῖ ἀπάσαι τὴν Πελοπόννησον τεύχεσσι φείδε-  
σθαι. εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων περὶ δόρυ μὲν τῶν  
Βαρβάρων ἔσονται, οὐτ' ἐκείνοις δέησεν χλίων νεών, οὔτε  
τύχης ἀφελήσεται τὸ ἐν Ἰωμῶν τεῖχος· ἀκινδύνως γὰρ ἔστι  
ἄλλοι τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν τῷ Βασιλέως. διδασκόμενοι  
15 δὲ καὶ νομιζόντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄδικα τε ποιεῖν καὶ χακῶς  
βουλεύεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοις ἢ δίκαιά τε λέγειν, καὶ τὰ βέλ-  
πιστα αὐτοῖς παραινέειν, ἐβόηθησαν εἰς Πλαταιάς· ἀποδράν-  
των δὲ ὑπὸ ἰσχύϊ τῶν πλείων συμμάχων ἐκ τῶν τά-  
ξεων, διὰ τὸ πληθεῖν ἢ πολεμίων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν  
20 καὶ Τριγάρται τῆς Βαρβαρίας ἐπείφοιτο· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ  
Πλαταιεῖς πάντες τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι τοὺς  
ἀπογόνους τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὑπομένειν τὴν δου-  
λείαν. ὃ ἐκείνη δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καλλίστην τελευτῶν τοῖς  
περὶ τούτους κινδύνοις ὀπιθόντες, βέβαιον μὲν τὴν ἐλευθε-

ρίαν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κλειφράσσεια εἰ ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς κινδύναις  
δόντες ἔλεγχοι δ' ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ μόνον καὶ μετ' ἐτί-  
ρον, καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς Βαρ-  
βάρους καὶ πρὸς οὗτοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ὑπὸ πάντων ἡξιάσμεθα,  
καὶ μὴ ὅν ἐκινδυνεύουσι καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπυλέμεθα, ἡγεμόνες τ'  
ἡμέας δ' Ἑλλάδος.

Τέττον δὲ χρόνῳ Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ καταστάτες, διὰ  
ζῆλον τῶν γενημένων, καὶ φρόνησιν τῶν πεπραγμένων, μέγα  
μὲν ἅπαντες φρονήσαντες, μακρῶν δ' ἐκκλημάτων ἔκκειτο δό-  
μῃσι, ναυμαχίας Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Αἰγυπτιῶται, καὶ τὸς ὅλ-  
κῳ συμμάχους θησαυρὸς, ἐβδωμήκοντα τεύχεα αὐτῶν  
ἐλάμβανον. παλιορκουῖντο δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Αἰ-  
γυπτιῶν τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τὴν ἡλικίας ἀπόσεως ἔτι τε ἔκαστος  
καὶ εἰ πρὸ πρῶτον στρατόματι, Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ αἰνῶν  
σύμμαχοι ἡγήμενοι ἢ εἰς ἔρημον ἢ χάραν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἢ εἰς  
Αἰγύπτου ἀξίον ὁ στρατόπεδον, ἐξεληγόντες παιδευμένους Γερμανίαν  
κατέλαβον Ἀθηναῖοι δ', ἢ μὲν ἀπόντων, ἢ δ' ἐγγὺς ὄν-  
των, οὐδένα ἐτόλμυσαν μεταπείρασθαι· ἢ δ' αὐτῶν ψυ-  
χαῖς πεπύσαντες, καὶ πᾶσι ὁπλόντων καταφρονήσαντες, οἱ  
γεναιότεροι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἡλικίας ὁπότες γενήσονται, ἡξίουν αὐτοὶ  
μόνοι τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσασθαι· οἱ μὲν, ἐμπειρία τίναν ἀρε-  
τήν, ὅτι, φίλοις κακτιμένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν, αὐτοὶ πολλαχῶς  
ἀγαθοὶ γενημένοι, οἱ δ', ὁκνεῖντες μιν ἀμύνειν· ἢ μὲν πρῶτον  
ἐντέρων ἀρχαῖς ὁπταμένων, πᾶσι δὲ νεώτερον ὁ ὁπταμένη

μενοι ποιεῖν δυναμένοι. Μυρωνίδου οὖν στρατηγούτῳ ἀποδρῆσαι αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγαρῶν, εἰκὼν μαχόμενοι ἀπασθῆναι δὴ δύναμις πῶς ἐκείνων· τοῖς ἡδὴ ἀπειρηκόσι, καὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἀδυναμόνσι, οὗτοί εἰς τὴν σφετέρῃ ἐμβαλεῖν ἀξιώσαντες, εἰς τὴν ἄλλοτρίῃ ἀπαντήσαντες· τρέπαιοι δὲ ῥησάντες, χαλλίστου μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔργου, αἰχμῆς δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀδύναμοι· καὶ τὴν ψυχῇ ἀμφοτέρω κρείττους ῥηόμενοι, μὲν χαλλίστης δόξης εἰς τὴν αὐτῇ ἀπαλθόντες, (C) μὲν πάλιν ἐπαίτιο δυνόντο, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ λυγρῶν ἐβλεπόντο.

Καθ' ἕνα μὲν οὖν ἔραδιον τὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν, κινδυνεύοντα ὑφ' ἐνὸς ῥηθῆναι, ἔστι τὰ ἐν ἀπῶν τῷ χρόνῳ περὶ χρίντα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ διλωθῆναι. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἡ χρόνος, ἡ λόγος, ἡ ῥήτωρ ἰσχυρὸς ῥηοίτο μύθοις τὴν τὴν εὐθιὰς καί μεν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῇ; μὲν πλείων γὰρ πόνος, καὶ φανερὰ τὰ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ χαλλίστου κινδυνῶν, ἐλθόντων μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, μεγίστη δ' ἀπέδειξαν τὴν αὐτῇ πατριᾷ ἐβδολήματα μὲν ἔτη τὴν θαλάττης ἀρξάντες, ἀσασιάτους δὲ ῥησάντες τὴν συμμάχους· καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τὴν πολλοὺς δουλεύειν ἀξιώσαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἀπαντα ἀναλίσσαντες· οὗτοί τὴν συμμάχους ἀσθενῶς ποιῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνοις ἰσχυροὺς καὶ ῥησάντες καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμις τοσαύτῃ ὑπεδείξαντες, ὡς ὁ μέγας Βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν ἐπεθύμη, ἀλλ' ἐδίδου τῇ αὐτῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν λυγρῶν

λοιπῶν ἐφοβεῖτο. καὶ οὔτε τελεῖς ἐν ἐκείνῳ πρὸ χρόνῳ ἐκ  
 τῆς Ασίας ἐπλευρῆ, οὔτε τύραννος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατέστη,  
 οὔτε Ἑλλήνεις πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἠνδραποδίσθη.  
 τοσαύτῳ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δέῃ ἡ τέτων ἀρετῇ πᾶσι ἀν-  
 θρώποις παρῆχεν. ὧν ἕνεκα δὲ μόνους καὶ πρῶτους τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῶν πόλεων γίγνεσθαι.

Ἐπέδευξαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρε-  
 τήν. Σπολορμόων γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, εἴτε ἡγε-  
 μόνος κακία, εἴτε Θεῶν ἀφροσύνη, καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης  
 μεγίστης θμορδύης καὶ ἡμῶν τοῖς δυστυχίαις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-  
 λοις Ἑλλήσιν, ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι πολλὰ χροῖα ὕστερον ὅτι ἡ τῆς  
 πόλεως δυνάμεις τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἦν σωτηρία. ἐτέρων γὰρ  
 ἡγεμόνων γνομῶν, ἐνίκησαν μὲν ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς Ἑλλήνας  
 οἱ πρῶτοι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὅτε ἐμβοαῖοντες, ἐπλάθ-  
 ῃ εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην δαλδύουσι τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἑλλήσιν, τῶν  
 ἄλλων δ' ἐκαστῶν, οἱ μὲν, μὲν τὴν ἡμετέραν συμφορᾶν,  
 οἱ δὲ, μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν Βαρβάρων. ὥς ἄξιον ἦν ὅτι  
 τῷδε πρὸ τάφῳ τότε κείρασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι  
 τὰς ἐνθάδε κειμῆνας, ὥς συλκταταπιόμενης τῇ αὐτῶν ἐλευ-  
 θερίας τῇ τέτων ἀρετῇ ὥς δυστυχῆς μὲν ἡ Ἑλὰς τοῖς τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν ὀρφανῇ θμομῇ, εὐτυχῆς δ' ὅτι τῆς Ασίας βασιλεὺς,  
 ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαβόμενος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τέτων περὶ εἰσὴν  
 δουλεία πείεσθαι, πρὸ δ' ἄλλων ἀρξομένων ζῆλος ἐγγύς  
 τῶν πρῶτων ἀφροσύνας.

Ἀλλὰ

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐξήχθη ὑπὸ πάσης ὀλοφύρεσθαι  
 ἢ Ἑλλάδι. ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιοι καὶ ἰδία καὶ  
 δημοσία μεμνηῖσθαι, οἱ φεύγοντες τὴν θύλειαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 δικαίῳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας στασιάζον-  
 5 τες, πόλιν πολεμίας κεκτημένοι, εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κα-  
 τήλθον, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου ἀναγκασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς  
 φύσεως πεσόντες, καιοῖς κινδύνους τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν  
 γένων ἀρετὴν μεμνησάμενοι, ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κοινῶς τὴν  
 πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτησάμενοι, θάνατον μὲν ἐλευθερίας  
 10 αἰετούμενοι, ἢ βίον μετὰ δουλείας· ἐχ' ἥτις ταῖς συμφο-  
 ραῖς αἰχμυόμενοι, ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὀρμίζόμενοι· μᾶλλον βυ-  
 ληθέντες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ σποδίσκειν, ἢ ζῆν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν  
 οἰκουῦντες, συμμάχους μὲν ὄρκοις καὶ σωθῆκας ἔχοντες,  
 πολεμίους δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχοντες καὶ τῆς πολιτείας  
 15 τῆς αὐτῆς. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐναντίων φοβη-  
 θέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες,  
 τρέπαιοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν  
 ἀρετῆς ἐγγὺς ὄντες τῷ μνήματι τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας  
 τάφοις παρέχοντα καὶ γάρτοι μεγάλῳ μὲν ἀντὶ μικρᾶς  
 20 ἀπέδειξαν ἢ πόλιν, ὁμοιοῦσαν δὲ ἀντὶ στασιάζουσιν ἀπέ-  
 φησαν, τείχη δ' ἀντὶ τῶν καθηρημένων ἀνέστησαν. οἱ δ' ἐκα-  
 τήλθοντες αὐτῶν, ἀδελφὰ τὰ βυλεύματα τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν  
 εὐθάρδως κειμένων ὀπιθευνοῦντες, οὐκ ὅτι τιμωρίαν τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδέοντο· καὶ  
 ἐπεὶ



ἔπε ἰλατῆος Διυάμνους, οὐτ' αὐτοὶ πλέον ἔχον δεδομένα,  
 τῆς μὴ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις δουλεύειν  
 μετῴχεσθαι, τῆς δ' ἐκείνων δουλείας αὐτοὶ μετέχον οὐκ  
 ἠξίωσαν. ἔργου δὲ μεγίστου καὶ καλλίστου ἀπελογισαίῃ,  
 ὅτι οὐ κακίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀρετῇ τῇ πολεμίων πρῶτον  
 οὐ ἐδυσχύνει ἡ πόλις. εἰ γὰρ στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους,  
 βία παρόντων Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν, εἰς  
 τὴν αὐτῶν οἰοί τε ἐγίνοντο καταλθεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι ῥαδίως αὖ  
 ἡμιούνητες πολεμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐδύναμτο. οὐκ οὖν μὲν οὕτω ληθ  
 τὴς ἐν Περσίδι κωιδύουσι ὑπὸ πόντων ἀνθρώπων ζήσαν- 10  
 τας. Λέξιν γ' καὶ τὴς ξένης τὴς ἐνθάδε καίμενους ἐπαί-  
 νου, οἱ τῷ πλήθει βοηθήσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν σω-  
 τηρίας μαχόμενοι, πατέρων τῇ ἀρετῇ ἡγησάμενοι, τοῖς  
 αὐτοῖς τῷ βίῳ τελευτῇ ἐποιήσαντο· ἀνδ' οἱ ἡ πόλις αὐ-  
 τοὺς καὶ ἐπέδωκε καὶ ἔθαψε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔδωκε ἔχειν αὐ- 15  
 τοῖς τὴν ἀπαίαν χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τιμαῖς τοῖς ἀπῶν.

Οἱ γ' οὖν ἡν στασιάζοντες, βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίοις ὑπὸ πα-  
 τέρων φίλοι ἀδικουμένοις, καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι θυμῶνται, οὐ γὰρ  
 αὐτῇ γνῶμῃ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχοντες, (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀγα-  
 ρῶν αὐτοῖς ἐφθόνην, ① δὲ ἀδικουμένους αὐτοὺς ἡλέον) καὶ  
 οὕτε τῆς πρῆτης ἐχθρας μεταπηδῶν, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν παρ-  
 σαι φιλοῦν πρὸς πολλοὺς ποσέμενοι, πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φα-  
 νερά τῇ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ ἐπεδείξαντο. ἐτόλμησαν γὰρ, με-  
 γάλῃ ποικίλῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῆς αὐτῶν  
 σωτηρίας



τεύρω, ὅτι περσιότεροι ἢ ὅτε ἐπιλαθέσθαι τὴν δυστυχίαν τῆς  
 ἑαυτῶν. τί γὰρ ἀνὰ τῶν ἀνιερῶτερον θύοιτο, ἢ τεκεῖν μὲν  
 καὶ θρέψαι καὶ θάψαι τὴν αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῆρᾳ ἀδυνα-  
 τὴς μὲν τῇ σῶματι, πασῶν δ' ἀπεστερημένους τῇ ἐλπίδων,  
 ἀφίλους καὶ ἀπόρους γενέσθαι; ὣστε τῇ αὐτῶν ἀφῆτε-  
 ρον ζῆλον, καὶ νῦν ἐλεῖν; ποθεινότερον δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι  
 τὴν θάνατον ἢ βίον; ὅσα γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν, ποσὸν  
 τοῖς χαλεπομένοις ὁ πένθος μείζον. πῶς δ' αὐτὸς χρη-  
 λῆσθαι τὴν λύπης; πότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει συμφορῆς;  
 ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τὴν ἄλλους μεμνησθαι. ἀλλ' ἵ-  
 ον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς; ἀλλ' ἵκανον λυπῆσαι, τῇ  
 μὲν σφετέρων τέκνων τετελευτηκότων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἀπο-  
 λαύοντων τὴν ἀρετῆς. ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις;  
 ὅταν ὁρῶσι τὴν μὲν ἀφῆτερον ὄντας φίλους, φεύγοντας τὴν  
 αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθρούς, μέγα φρονούοντας ὅτι  
 ταῖς δυστυχίαις ταῖς τέτων; μόνον δ' ἂν μοι δοκῇ ταύ-  
 τῳ τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμένοις ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, εἰ τὴν μὲν  
 τοκέας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ὥστε ἐκείνοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ποιοίμε-  
 θα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὅπως ἀσπαζοίμεθα ὥστε αὐτοὶ πα-  
 τῆρες ὄντες ταῖς τῇ γυναιξὶν εἰ τοιούτους βοηθὸς ἡμᾶς αὐ-  
 τοὺς πρὸς ἐχθροὺς οἰοίμεθα ἐκείνοι ζῶντες ἦσαν. πῶς γὰρ  
 ἀνὰ εἰκότως μᾶλλον τιμῶμεν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων; πῶς  
 δ' ἂν τῇ ζώντων διχαίωτερον πρὸς πολλοὺς ποιοίμεθα, ἢ τὴν  
 τέτοις ἀποσπῶμεν; οἱ δὲ μὲν τέτων ἀρετῆς ὁ ἴσθι τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις

ἄλλοις ἀπέλευθ', ἀποθανόντων δὲ μόνου γησιῶς τῆς δυσ-  
 χίας μετέχουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι δὴ τοιαῦτα ὀλο-  
 φύραται. ἔ γὰρ ἐλατθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς ὅλῃς θνητοί· ὥστ'  
 τί δὲ, ἂν πάλαι περσευκῶμεν πείσσομαι, ὑπὲρ τούτων  
 5 νῦν ἄλγεσθαι; ἢ λίαν οὕτω βαρέως φέρειν ὅππῃ ταῖς τῆς  
 φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ὅππισταμύνους ὅτι ὁ θάνατος κοινὸς καὶ  
 τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις; οὔτε γὰρ τὸς ποτηρῆς  
 ὑποφορᾷ, οὔτε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' ἴσους ἑαυτὸν  
 πᾶσι παρέχεται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦ τοῖς τὸς εἰς τὸ πο-  
 10 λέμῳ κινδυνώεις ἀφαιρεθῆσθαι ἀθανάτους εἶναι τὸν λοιπὸν  
 χρόνον, ἄξιον ἦν τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ ἅπαντα χρόνον περθεῖν τὸς  
 περνεῶτας. νῦν δὲ ἥτε φύσις καὶ νότον ἤτιον καὶ γήρας,  
 ὅ, τε δαίμων ὁ πῦρ ἡμετέραν μοῖραν εἰληχρὸς ἀπαραίτη-  
 τος. ὥστ' ἀπορρήκῃ τέτῳς εὐδαιμονεστάτης ἡγεῖσθαι, οἵπνης  
 15 ὑπὲρ μεγίστων καὶ χαλίστων κινδυνολύσσομεν, οὕτως τὸν  
 βίον ἐπελεύτησαν· οὐκ ὅππισταμύνοντες πρὸς αὐτῶν τῇ τύ-  
 χῃ, οὐδὲ ἀναμείνομεν τὸ αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκ-  
 λεξάμενοι τὸν κάλλιστον. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ ἀγήραδοι μὲν αὐτῶν  
 αἱ μῆμη, ζηλωταὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ  
 20 τιμαί· οἱ περθεῖν δὲ μὲν ἀφ' τῆς φύσεως ὡς θνητοί, ὑμῶνται  
 δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι ἀφ' τῆς ἀρετῆς. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ θάπτονται δι-  
 μυσία καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας  
 καὶ πλοῦτος, ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας τὸς εἰς τὸ πολέμῳ πλε-  
 λευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθρόατος τιμᾶ-  
 σθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ μαχαρίζω τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ

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Ζηλω, καὶ μόνοις τέτοις ἀνθρώπων οἶμα κρῦπτον ὅτι γενέσθαι, οἵπινες ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωματῶν ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἔχοντες ἃ ἀρίστῳ αὐτῶν κατέλιπον. ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔσσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύοντας τὸ πάτριον νόμον, ὁλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς θαπτομένους.

## ΥΠΕΡΙΔΟΥ τὸ σοφισμῶν.

— Χαλεπὸν μὲν ἴσως ὅτι τὰς ἐν τοῖς τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς πάθεσι κοιμῶμεθα. τὰ γὰρ πένθη οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε νόμῳ κοιμῶμεθα. ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐκαστον καὶ φιλία πρὸς τὸ τελευτήσαντα ὀρισμὸν ἔχει τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι. ὅμως δὲ χρὴ ἰοθαρρῆναι, καὶ τῆς λύπης πρᾶπτεν εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον· καὶ μεμνησθαι μὴ μόνοι τῷ θανάτῳ τὸ τετελευτηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἧς καταλεινοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ θρήνηται ἄξια πεπόνθασι, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλῳ πεποιήκασιν. εἰ δὲ γήρῳσι θνητῶν μὴ μετέχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίᾳ ἀθάνατον εὐλόγησαν, εὐδαίμονές τε γηρόναι καὶ πόνηται. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν παῖδες τελευτήκασιν, οἱ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαυσι παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀθάνατοι ἴσονται· ὅσοι δὲ παῖδας καταλεινοῦσιν, ἡ τῆς πατρὸς ἐνοία ὀλίγηστος αὐτοῖς τὸ παίδων κατὰσθῆναι. πρὸς δὲ τέτοις, εἰ μὲν ὅτι τὸ σπῆμα-20 νεῖν ὁμοῖον τῷ μὴ θνῆσθαι, ἀπληλαβόμενοι εἰς νότον καὶ λύπης, ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρᾶσιπτότων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπου βίον. εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις ἐν αἵματι καὶ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ δαιμονία, ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἴη τοὺς ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν καταλυομένοις βοηθήσαντας, πλείους εὐδαιμονίας ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων τυχεύειν.

# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

περὶ τῶν Στρατηγῶν

ἀπολομύων. ΑΝΑΒ. β'.

ΟΙ ΜΕΝ δὲ στρατηγὶ αὐτὰ ληφόντες, ἀνέχθησαν  
ὡς βασιλέα, καὶ ἀπολυμένους τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπαύτησαν  
εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχον, ὁμολογημένους ὅτι πάντες ἔ-  
μπειρους αὐτῷ ἔχοντες, δόξας ἡμέτερον εἶναι πολεμικὸς καὶ  
5 φιλοπόλεμος ἔχοντας. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς  
Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τὰς Ἀθηναίους, πρῆμμενοι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐι-  
ρήνη ἤρθε, πείσας τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θράκες ἀδικοῦσι  
τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, καὶ ἀφ' ἀπραξιάμυνος ὡς ἐδύνατο ποιεῖν τῶν  
Εφόρων, ἐξέπλην ὡς πολέμῳ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου καὶ  
10 Περσίου Θραξίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μαζανόντες πως (Α) Εφοροί,  
ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτῶν, ἀποσέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρώωντο ἐξ Ἰοθιμῶν,  
ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἐπὶ πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὥχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλή-  
σποντον. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῷ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ  
τελῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἡδὴ δὲ φυγὰς ὦν ἔρχετο πρὸς Κύ-  
15 ρον καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κύρον, ἀλλαχθὲν γέγραπ-  
ται. Δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ Κύρῳ μυρίας δαρεκαίους· ὁ δὲ λα-  
βὼν, οὐκ ὅτι βαθυμῆαι ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν  
χρημάτων συλλέξας φράτευμα, ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξίν· καὶ  
μάχη τε οὐκ ἔσχε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔφερε, καὶ ἦγεν αὐτὰς· καὶ  
πολεμῶν.

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πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέχρ' οὗ Κῦρος ἐδέχθη τὸ στρατεύ-  
ματός· τότε δ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πολεμήσαν.

Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμῳ δοκᾷ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις,  
ἔξον μὲν εἰρήνῃ ἔχειν ἀνὰ αἰχμῆς καὶ βλάβης, αἰρεῖται  
πολεμῆν· ἔξον δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, βύλε' ὅτι πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμῆν·<sup>5</sup>  
ἔξον δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα  
ταῦτα πονεῖν. Εκείνος δὲ, ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ, ἢ εἰς ἄλ-  
λῳ πια ἡδονῇ, ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν  
φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτὴν ταύτην (εἰ) ἐδόκει, ὅτι  
φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ὅτι τῆς πο-<sup>10</sup>  
λεμίας, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς (αὖ) παρόντες  
πανταχῶς πάντες ὁμολόγησαν. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δὲ ἐλέγχετο  
(εἰ), ὡς διωατὸν, ὅτι τῷ ποιεῖν τρέπον, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνος  
εἶχε· ἰκανὸς μὲν γὰρ, ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος, φροντίζειν ἦν, ὅπως  
ἕξῃ ἢ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ὀπιτηδεύα, καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ταῦ-<sup>15</sup>  
τα· ἰκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πρῶτον, ὡς οὐκ ἀπι-  
στεόν εἴη Κλεάρχῳ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ὅτι ὅτι χαλεπὸς (εἰ).  
Καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν θυγὴς ἦν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς· ἐκόλαζε τε  
αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐτίθει, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ μέλειν ἐοῖ  
ὅτε. καὶ γὰρ δὲ ἐκόλαζε· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος<sup>20</sup>  
οὐδὲν ἡγαῖτο ὄφελος (εἰ). Ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν,  
ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἀρχόντα ἢ τῆς  
πολεμίας, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλαχθεὶς φυλάξαι, ἢ φίλῳ ἀφεί-  
ξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπερφασίῃς ἵστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίας. Εἰ  
μὲν

μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἦγον αὐτῷ ἀκύνει σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἄλλοι ἤρυντο ① στρατῶνται. Καὶ ᾧ τὸ τυτῶν τότε φαι-  
 δρῇ αὐτῷ οὐ τοῖς περὶ τοῖς ἐφαρξ φαίνατο, καὶ ὁ χαλε-  
 πῶν, ἐρρωμένον περὶ οὐ πολέμους ἐδόχε εἶναι· ὥστε σα-  
 5 πῆλιν καὶ ἐκείνῳ χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνεται. Οὔτε δ' ἔξω ἔδεικτο  
 γένοιτο, καὶ ἐξείη περὶ ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπένειμι, πολ-  
 λοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέλειπον· ὁ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ οὐκ εἶχε, ἀλλὰ  
 αἰὶ χαλεπὸς καὶ ὁμῶς ἦν· ὥστε δέκοντο περὶ αὐτὸν ②  
 στρατῶνται, ὥσπερ παῖδες περὶ διδάσκαλον· καὶ γὰρ οὖν  
 10 φιλία μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομῆνους οὐδέποτε εἶχε· οἵτινες δὲ ἦν  
 ὑπὸ πύλεως περὶ μέντοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ δεῖνῳ, ἢ ἄλλῃ τι  
 ἀνάγκῃ χατεχόμενοι πείρην αὐτῶν, σφόδρα πειθομένοις  
 ἐχρῆτο. Επειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἡρῶν νικᾶν οὐκ αὐτῶν τοὺς πο-  
 λεμίας, μεγάλα ἦδη ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιεῖν εἶναι τοὺς  
 15 οὐκ αὐτῶν στρατῶν· τὸ, περὶ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους  
 παρὰ αὐτοῦ εἶχε παρῆν, καὶ τὸ τῇ παρ' ἐκείνῳ τιμωρίᾳ  
 φοβεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίησεν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὲ ἀρ-  
 χῶν οὐκ ἀρχεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ ἄλλων ὅ μάλιστα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγχετο.  
 Ἦν γὰρ, ὅτε ἐπελθόντα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.  
 20 Πρόξενος γὰρ ὁ Βοιωτίας, εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ αὐτὸν ὄν, ἐπεθύμει  
 θμεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ μεγάλα περὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν. καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν  
 τῶν τῶν ἐπιθυμίας ἔδωκε Γοργίᾳ ἀργύριον πρὸ Λεστιάδῃ.  
 Επεὶ δὲ συνελθόντο ἐκείνῳ, ἰσχυρὸς ἦδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἀρ-  
 χῶν, καὶ φίλος οὐκ τοῖς περὶ τοῖς, μὴ ἡττησάσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλ-



θει εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺ Κύρω πρῶξεις· ἡ ὥστε κτήσασθαι  
 ὅσα τέτων ὄνομα μέγα, ἡ δύναμις μεγάλη, ἡ χρήματα  
 πολλά· τέτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν, σφόδρα ἐδύλον αὐτὴν ἡ  
 εἶχεν, ὅτι τέτων ἕδεν αὐτὴν ἡλοὶ κτεῖσθαι μὲν ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ  
 σὺν καὶ δικαίᾳ ἡ χαλῶ ὥστε δεῖν τέτων τυγχάνειν, ἀνδρῶν  
 δὲ τέτων μὴ. Ἀρχεν δὲ καλῶν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθῶν ἡχώσας ἦν·  
 οὐ μόνον οὐδ' αὐτῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον  
 ἡχώσας ἐμποῖσσαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡχώσας μάλιστα τοὺς στρα-  
 τῶντας, ἡ (Α) ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνοι· ἡ φοβούμενος μάλλον ἢ  
 φοβερὸς ὁ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡ (Α) στρατῶ- 10  
 τας τὸ ἀπεινὴν ἐκείνῃ. Ως, τοῦ ἡ ἀρκύν τῶν ἀρχαίων  
 εἶ) ἡ δοκεῖν, ἡ μὲν χαλῶς ποιεῖντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν ἡ ἀδικούντα  
 μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. Τοιγαρὺν αὐτῶ (Α) μὲν χαλῶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν  
 σπουδόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἀδικοὶ ἐπεθύλευον, ὡς εὐμα-  
 χεύειν ὄντι. Ὅτε ἡ ἀπέθνησκεν, ἡ ἐπὶ ὡς τρέφονται. 15

Μείων δὲ ὁ Θεπάλος δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλείων  
 ἡχώσας, ἐπιθυμῶν ἡ ἀρχεν, ὅπως πλείων λαμβάνοι· ἐπι-  
 θυμῶν ἡ πικρῶσαι, ἡ πλείων κερδαίνει· φίλος τ' ἐβόλετο  
 εἶ) τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἡ ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοῖν δίκην.  
 Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ χειρουργεῖσθαι ὡν ἐπιθυμοῖν, σπουδοματάτιν 20  
 ὡδὸν ὡς εἶ) ἀφ' τῶν ἐπιθυμῶν τε, ἡ ψεύδασθαι, ἡ ἐξα-  
 πατᾶν τὸ δὲ ἀπλῆν τε καὶ ἀληθές, τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ  
 εἶναι. Στέρων δὲ φανερός μὲν ἦν οὐδένα· ὅτε δὲ φαίη  
 φίλος εἶ), τούτῳ ἐδύλον ἦν ἐπιβουλεύων. Καὶ πο-  
 λεμίου

λεμίῳ μὲν ᾧδεὺς κατηγάτο, τῷ δὲ σιυότανι πάντων  
ὡς χαλαρῶν αἰεὶ διελέγτο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῷ πολε-  
μίῳι κτήμασι οὐκ ἐπέβλεπε (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾧδε εἶναι  
τὰ τῷ φυλαττομένῳ λαμβάνειν) τὰ δὲ τῷ φίλῳ μόνος ᾧδε  
5 εἰδέναι ὅτι ῥᾶστον ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ὅσους μὲν ῥαδι-  
νετο ὁπτόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εὖ ἀπλισμένοις ἐφοβεῖτο·  
τοῖς δὲ ὅσοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπεφᾶτο  
χρῆσθαι. Ὡστερ δὲ τις ἀγάλλει ὅτι θεοσεβεία, καὶ ἀλη-  
θεία, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, αὐτῷ καὶ Μένειν ἡγάλλετο τῷ ἔξαπα-  
10 τῶν δύναντο, τῷ πλάσαντο ψευδῇ, τῷ φίλους ἀφγα-  
λᾶν τῷ δὲ μὴ σωφρονεῖν, ἀπαίδουλον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. Καὶ  
πρὸ οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει προστεῖν φιλίαν, ἀφβάλλων τοὺς  
προσφύτας, τούτους ᾧδε δεῖν κτήσαντο. Τὸ δὲ σιωπομένους  
τούς στρατιώτας πρὸς ἑαυτούς, οὐκ ἔστι σιωπᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐμ-  
15 χράτο. Τιμᾶντο δὲ καὶ στρατιώταις ἡξίαν, ὁπιδουνύ-  
μους ὅτι πλεῖστα δυνάμει καὶ ἐθέλοι ἀνὰ ἀδικεῖν. Εὐερ-  
γασίαν δὲ κατέλεγε, ὅποτε πῖς αὐτῷ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι χρά-  
μος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφορῶν  
ἔξετι πρὸς αὐτῷ ψεύδεσσι. ἀ δὲ σφόδρες ἴσασι, τὰ δὲ ὅτι.  
20 Παρὰ Λεωτρίππῳ μὲν, ἐπὶ ὥραϊος ὦν, στρατηγῶν διεπρά-  
ξατο τῶν ξένων. Λεωτρίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὅτι, ὅτι μερακίοις  
χαλεπῶς ἤδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος ὦν ἐγχετο· αὐτὸς δὲ  
παιδικῶς εἶχε θαύρον, ἀγνοῶν ὦν φρεσὶν. Αποθη-  
σκότανι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ὅτι βασιλέα σὺν  
Κύρῳ,

## 64 ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

Κύρω, τὰ αὐτὰ πεποικώς οὐκ ἀπέθανε· μὲν δὲ τὸν Ἴ-  
 ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηῶν, τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀ-  
 πέθανε, ἔχ' ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ σπο-  
 τμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς· (ὥσπερ κάλλιστος θανάτων ἐδό-  
 κει εἶναι) ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς οἴαντον, ὡς ποτηρὸς, λέ-  
 γεται τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

Αἰτίας ᾗ ὁ Ἀρχαῖς, καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαῖος καὶ τότε  
 ἀπεθανέτι· τῶν δὲ ὁδοὶς ἔθ' ὥς οὗ πολέμου κακῶν  
 κατηγά, οὗτ' ἐς φιλίαν αὐτὸς ἐμέμφετο. Ἡγήν τε ἄμ-  
 φω ἀμφὶ πεπράκοντα ἔτη σπὸ θμείας.

# M. T. CICERONIS

*Sententiæ de iis honore augendis, qui  
periculum vitæ adierunt Reipub. causa.*

DE SER. SULPICIO *ornando*. PHILIPP. IX.

**V**ELLEM, dii immortales fecissent, Patres conscripti, ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus, quam mortuo honores quæreremus. —

Si Ser. Sulpicio casus mortem attulisset, dolerem quidem tanto reip. vulnere: mortem vero ejus non monumentis, sed luctu publico esse honorandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat, quin ei vitam abstulerit ipsa legatio? Secum enim ille mortem extulit: quam, si nobiscum reman-

10 sisset, sua cura, optimi filii, fidelissimæque conjugis diligentia vitare potuisset. — Reddite igitur, P. C. ei vitam, cui ademistis. Vita enim mortuorum in memoria vivorum est posita. Perficite, ut is, quem vos ad mortem inscii misistis,

15 immortalitatem habeat a vobis. — Grati sumus in ejus morte decoranda, cui nullam jam aliam gratiam referre possumus. — Quas ob res ita censeo; CUM Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia, Rufus difficillimo Reipublicæ tempore, gravi, pericu-

20 losoque morbo affectus, auctoritatem Senatus, salutemque Reipublicæ vitæ suæ præposuerit, contraque

traque vim gravitatemque morbi contenderit, ut  
 in castra Antonii, quo Senatus eum miserat, per-  
 veniret : Isque, cum jam prope castra venisset, vi  
 morbi oppressus, vitam amiserit in maximo Rei-  
 publicæ munere : ejusque mors consentanea vitæ <sup>5</sup>  
 fuerit, sanctissime, honestissimeque ætæ, in qua  
 sæpe magno usui Reipublicæ Ser. Sulpicius &  
 privatus, & in magistratibus fuerit : Cum talis  
 vir ob Rempublicam in legatione mortem obi-  
 rit ; Senatui placere, Ser. Sulpicio statuam pe- <sup>10</sup>  
 destrem æneam in Rostris ex hujus ordinis senten-  
 tia statui ; circumque eam statuam locum ludis,  
 gladiatoribusque, liberos posterosque ejus quo-  
 quoversus pedes quinque, habere ; quod is ob  
 Rempublicam mortem obierit ; eamque causam <sup>15</sup>  
 in basi inscribi : utique C. Pansa, A. Hirtius,  
 Consules, alter ambove, si eis videatur, Quæsto-  
 ribus urbanis imperent, ut eam basim, statuam-  
 que faciendam, & in Rostris statuendam locent :  
 quantique locaverint, tantam pecuniam redemp- <sup>20</sup>  
 tori solvendam, attribuendamque curent. Cum-  
 que antea Senatus auctoritatem suam in virorum  
 fortium funeribus ornamentisque ostenderit, pla-  
 cere, cum quam amplissime supremo die suo ef-  
 ferri. Et, cum Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia,  
 Rufus, ita de Republica meritus sit, ut his orna- <sup>25</sup>  
 mentis decorari debeat, Senatum censere, atque  
 e Republica existimare, Ædiles curules edictum,  
 quod de funeribus habeant, Ser. Sulpicii Q. F.  
 Lemonia,

Lemonis, Ruffi, funeri remittere : utique locum sepulcro in campo Esquilino Pansa Consul, seu quo in loco videbitur, pedes triginta quoquoque adsignet, quo Ser. Sulpicius inferatur. Quod sepulcrum, ipsius, liberorum, posterorumque ejus esset : uti quod optimo jure publice sepulcrum datum esset.

*De cæsis ad Mutinam. PHIL. XIV.*

IS demum est mea quidem sententiâ justus  
10 triumphus ac verus ; cum bene de Republicâ meritis testimonium à consensu civitatîs datur.

---CUM Supplicationes justissimas ex iis literis, quæ recitatæ sunt, decernere debeamus, Serviliusque decreverit : augebo omnino numerum die-  
15 rum, præsertim cum non uni, sed communiter tribus ducibus sint decernendæ. Sed hoc primum faciam, ut Imperatores appellem eos, quorum virtute, consilio, felicitate, maximis periculis servitutis atque interitûs liberati sumus. —  
20 Quia hoc ipso nomine & eos, qui jam devicti sunt, & eos qui supersunt, Hostes judico, cum victores appello Imperatores. Quomodo enim potius Pansam appellem ? etsi habet honoris nomen amplissimi ? Quo Hirtium ? est ille quidem consul : sed alterum nomen beneficii est populi Romani ; alterum, virtutis atque victoriæ.  
Quid ?

Quid? Cæsarem, Deorum beneficio reipublicæ procreatum, dubitemne appellare Imperatorem? Qui primus Antonii immanem & fœdam crudelitatem, non solum à jugulis nostris, sed etiam à membris & visceribus avertit. Unius autem diei quot & quantæ virtutes, Dii immortales, fuerunt!

Princeps enim omnium Pansa prælii faciendi, & cum Antonio configendi fuit, dignus Imperator legione Martia, digna legio Imperatore: 10  
cujus si acerrimum impetum cohibere Pansa potuisset, uno prælio confecta res esset. Sed cum libertatis avida legio effrænatus in aciem hostium irrupisset, ipseque in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus è 15  
prælio, reipublicæ vitam reservavit. Ego vero hunc non solum Imperatorem, sed etiam clarissimum Imperatorem judico: qui cum aut morte, aut victoria se satisfacturum reipublicæ spon-  
disset; alterum fecit, alterius Dii immortales omen 20  
avertant!

Quid dicam de Hirtio? qui, re audita, è castris duas legiones eduxit incredibili studio atque virtute: Quartam illam, quæ, relicto Antonio, se olim cum Martia legione conjunxit, & Septi- 25  
mam, quæ constituta ex veteranis docuit illo prælio, militibus iis, qui Cæsaris beneficia servassent, senatus populique Romani carum nomen esse. His viginti cohortibus, nullo equitatu, Hirtius ipse

ipse, aquilam Quartæ legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii legionibus, equitatuque conflixit, hostesque nefarios, huic Jovi maximo, cæterisque Deorum immortalium templis, urbis tectis, libertati populi Romani, nostræ vitæ sanguinique imminentes prostravit, fudit, occidit; ut cum admodum paucis, nocte tectus, metu perterritus, princeps latronum duxque fugerit. O  
10 solem ipsum beatissimum, qui antequam se abderet, stratis cadaveribus parricidarum, cum paucis fugientem vidit Antonium!

An vero quisquam dubitabit appellare Cæsarem Imperatorem? Ætas ejus certe ab hac sententia  
15 neminem deterrebit, quandoquidem virtute superavit ætatem. Ac mihi semper eo majora beneficia C. Cæsaris visa sunt, quo minus erant ab ætate illa postulanda: cui cum Imperium, eodem tempore, etiam spem nominis ejus deferebamus:  
20 quod, cum est secutus auctoritatem nostri decreti, rebus gestis suis comprobavit. Hic ergo adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ita  
25 trium Imperatorum virtute, consilio, felicitate, uno die locis pluribus respublica est conservata. Decerno igitur eorum trium nomine quinquaginta dierum Supplicationes: causas, ut honorificentissimis



centissimis verbis consequi posero, complectar sententia.

Est autem fidei, pietatisque nostræ, declarare fortissimis militibus, quam memores simus, quamque grati. Quamobrem promissa nostra, atque ea, quæ legionibus, bello confecto, tributuros nos spopondimus, hodierno senatus-consulto renovanda censeo. Æquum est enim militum, talium præsertim, honorem conjungi.

Atque utinam, Patres conscripti, civibus omnibus solvere nobis præmia liceret! Quanquam nos ea, quæ promissimus, studiosè cumulata reddemus. Sed id quidem restat, ut spero, victoribus, quibus senatus fides præstatur: quam quidem cum difficillimo reipublicæ tempore secuti sunt, eos nunquam oportebit consilii sui penitere. Sed facile est bene agere cum iis, à quibus etiam tacentibus flagitari videmur. Illud admirabilius & majus, maximeque proprium senatus sapientis est, grata eorum virtutem memoria prosequi, qui pro patria vitam profuderunt. Quorum de honore utinam mihi plura in mentem venirent! duo certe non præteribo, quæ maxime occurrunt: quorum alterum pertinet ad virorum fortissimorum gloriam sempiternam; alterum ad leniendum moerorem & luctum proximorum.

Placet igitur mihi, Patres conscripti, legionis Martiæ militibus, & eis, qui una pugnantes occiderunt, monumentum fieri quàm amplissimum.

Magna

Magna atque incredibilia sunt in rempublicam  
hujus merita legionis. Hæc se prima latrocinio  
abrupit Antonii : hæc tenuit Albam : hæc se ad  
Cæsarem contulit : hanc imitata Quarta legio pa-  
5 reit virtutis gloriam consecuta est. Quarta vic-  
trix desiderat neminem. Ex Martia nonnulli in  
ipsa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors ! quæ  
naturæ debita, pro patria est potissimum reddita.

Vos vero patriæ natos judico, quorum etiam  
10 nomen à Marte est : ut idem Deus urbem hanc  
gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga,  
fœda mors est ; in victoria, gloriosa. Etenim Mars  
ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet.  
Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad infe-  
15 ros pœnas parricidii luent. Vos vero, qui extre-  
mum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis  
sedem & locum consecuti. Brevis à natura nobis  
vita data est : at memoria bene redditæ vitæ sem-  
piterna. Quæ si non esset longior, quam hæc  
20 vita ; quis esset tam amens, qui maximis labori-  
bus & periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque  
contenderet ?

Actum igitur præclare vobiscum, fortissimi  
dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites,  
25 quod vestra virtus nec oblivione eorum, qui nunc  
sunt, nec reticentia posterorum insepulta esse po-  
terit ; cum vobis immortale monumentum suis  
pene manibus senatus populusque Romanus ex-  
traxerit. Multi sæpe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis,  
Italicis

Italicis bellis clari & magni fuerunt : nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum est. Atque utinam majora possemus, quandoquidem à vobis maxima accepimus ! Vos ab urbe furem Antonium avertistis : vos redire molientem repulistis. 5 Erit igitur extructa moles opere magnifico, incissæque literæ divinæ virtutis testes sempiternæ : nunquam de vobis, eorum, qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum, aut audient, gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali conditione vitæ 10 immortalitatem estis consecuti.

Sed quoniam, Patres conscripti, gloriæ munus optimis, & fortissimis civibus monumenti honore persolvitur, consolemur eorum proximos, quibus optima est hæc quidem consolatio : parentibus, 15 quòd tanta reipublicæ præsidia genuerunt : liberis, quòd habebunt domestica exempla virtutis : conjugibus, quòd iis viris carebunt, quos laudare quàm lugere præstabit : fratribus, quòd in se, ut corporum, sic virtutum similitudinem esse confi- 20 dent. Atque utinam his omnibus abstergere fletum sententiis nostris, consultisque possemus ; vel aliqua talis his adhiberi publice posset oratio, qua deponerent mœrorem atque luctum, gauderentque potius, cum multa et varia impenderent ho- 25 minibus genera mortis, id genus, quod esset pulcherrimum, suis obtigisse, eosque nec inhumatos esse, nec desertos : (quod tamen ipsum pro patria non miserandum putatur :) nec dispersis bustis hu-  
mili

mili sepultura crematos, sed confectos publicis operibus, atque muneribus, eaque extrucone, quæ sit ad memoriam æternitatis ARA VIRTUTIS.

5 Quamobrem maximum quidem solatium erit propinquorum, eodem monumento declarari; & virtutem suorum & pietatem, & senatûs fidem, & crudelissimi memoriam belli; in quo, nisi tanta militum virtus extitisset, parricidio M. Antonii  
10 nomen populi Romani occidisset. Atque etiam censeo, Patres conscripti, quæ præmia militibus promissimus nos, republica recuperata, tributuros, ea vivis, victoribusque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, persolvenda: qui autem ex iis, quibus illa  
15 promissa sunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.

Sed ut aliquando sententia complectar, ita censeo: Cum C. Pansa, cos. Imperator, initium  
20 cum hostibus conflicendi fecerit, quo prælio legio Martia admirabili incredibilique virtute libertatem populi Romani defenderit; quod idem legiones tironum fecerint; ipseque C. Pansa cos. Imperator, cum inter media hostium tela versatur,  
25 retur, vulnera acceperit: Cumque A. Hirtius cos. Imperator, prælio audito, & cognito, fortissimo præstantissimoque animo exercitum castris eduxerit, impetumque in M. Antonium exercitumque hostium fecerit, ejusque copias occisione

occiderit, suo exercitu ita incolumi, ut ne unum  
quidem militem desideraverit: Cumque C. Cæ-  
sar, Imperator, consilio, diligentiaque sua castra  
feliciter defenderit, copiasque hostium, quæ ad  
castra accesserant, profligarit, occiderit: ob eas  
res Senatū existimare, & judicare eorum trium  
Imperatorum virtute, imperio, consilio, gravitate,  
constantia, magnitudine animi, felicitate, popu-  
lū Romanū fœdissima crudelissimaque servi-  
tute liberatum. Cumque Rempublicam, urbem, 10  
templa Deorum immortalium, bona, fortunaſque  
omnium, liberosque conſervarint dimicatione, &  
periculo vitæ suæ: uti ob eas res bene, fortiter,  
feliciterque gestas, C. Panſa, A. Hirtius, Conſu-  
les, Imperatores, alter ambove, aut, ſi aberunt, 15  
M. Cornutus, Prætor urbanus, Supplicationes per  
dies quinquaginta ad omnia pulvinaria conſtituat.  
Cumque virtus legionum digna clariffimis Impe-  
ratoribus extiterit: Senatū, quæ ſit antea pol-  
licitus legionibus, exercitibusque noſtris, ea ſum- 20  
mo ſtudio, republica recuperata, perſoluturum.  
Cumque legio Martia princeps cum hoſtibus con-  
fixerit, atque ita cum majore numero hoſtium  
contenderit, ut plurimos cæderent, caperent non-  
nullos: Cumque ſine ulla retractatione pro patria 25  
vitam profuderint: Cumque ſimili virtute reli-  
quarum legionum milites pro ſalute & libertate  
populi Romani mortem oppetiverint: Senatui  
placere, ut C. Panſa, A. Hirtius, Conſules, Im-  
peratores,

peratores, alter ambove, si his videatur, iis qui sanguinem pro vita, libertate, fortunisque populi Romani, pro urbe, templisque Deorum immortalium profudissent, monumentum quàm amplissimum locandum, faciendum curent : Quæstores urbis ad eam rem pecuniam dare, attribuere, solvere jubeant ; ut extet ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam, ad scelus crudelissimorum hostium, militumque divinam virtutem : utque, quæ præmia Senatus militibus ante constituit, ea solvantur eorum, qui hoc bello pro patria occiderunt, parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus : eaque fratribus tribuantur, quæ militibus ipsis tribui oporteret, si illi vixissent, qui morte vicerunt.

# I N D E X.

Α.

**ΑΒΙΩΤΟΣ** 31. 4. *pro ἀβίατο*  
**βίω** vita non vitalia, vita  
acerba et misera, *seu ἀβίατος*  
**ἄναι** non esse vivendum.  
**Αζαζή**. 9. 3. commoda. 55. 8.  
virtutes.  
**Αζαίνομαι**. 10. 10. oblecto me.  
**Αζαίζομαι**. 35. 24. — 48. 8. de-  
miror, laudo, veneror.  
**Αζαπών**. 22. 1. — 43. 4. 49. 6.  
contentus sum.  
**Αζαπητός** 29. 22. cupidē, liben-  
ter.  
**Αγαι καὶ φίλων**. 59. 19. popu-  
lari. *ἀγαι* proprie de illā dici-  
tur *prædā*, quæ potest *agi*  
*incedere*, seu de rebus animatis;  
**φίλων** et *ferre* de inanimatis.  
**Αγω ήουχίαν**. 22. 2. conquiesco.  
39. 19. quiesco, *tumultuari de-*  
*finiens et nihil bellicum attentans*  
*aut moliens*.  
**Αγνωσία**. 19. 7. ignobilitas.  
**Αγνός**. 17. 17. infœcundus.  
**Αγωνίζομαι**. 14. 10. me exerceo.  
47. 2. periclitor, discrimen a-  
deo.  
**Αδεια**. 41. 20. securitas.  
**Αδελφος**. *adjec.* 53. 22. similis,  
congruens.  
**Αδιός**. 6. 24. absque metu.  
**Αδηλος γίνασθ**. 34. 20. occultari.  
**Αδιῶ**. ἂ μὴ αἰδιῶ γε. 15. 10.  
perperam ago.  
**Αδύνατος**. 56. 3. invalidus.  
**Αδ**. 4. 15. — 9. 13. *latine resol-*  
*vendum per particular.* prout  
quisque, quotiescunque *ἔσ*. 14.  
1 *ἔσ*. semper, plerumque.  
**Αίνας**. \*\* 19. *apud poetas pro*  
*αἰναιος* perennis, perpetuus.  
**Αλλον**. 40. 11. id de quo certatur.

**Αιμαδής**. 64. 5. excruciatas.  
**Αἰσίομαι**. \*\* 17. capio. *passim cli-*  
*go, desino*. 31. 1. — 53. 10.  
61. 2. antepono, malo. *Heb.*  
11. 25.  
**Αἰών**. 38. 14. cursu capio *seu* cur-  
rendo assequor et comprehendo,  
præverto.  
**Αἰσρομαι κίνδυνον**. 41. 8. suscipio,  
vel adeo periculum.  
**Αισχυρισμαι πάλ**. 40. 17. me pu-  
det ejuspiam. 40. 21. — 62. 8.  
revereor. 43. 23. — 53. 11.  
*ἐν τοῖς ἡγῶν*. 9. 7. verecundor  
inter agendum.  
**Αἰσίομαι**. 21. 6. criminor, ac-  
cuso.  
**Αἰσίομαι**. 33. 4. suspendor *Ci-*  
*ceroane vertente*. Tusc. III.  
**Ακινδύνως**. 49. 13. citra pericu-  
lum.  
**Ακμή**. 8. 20 *sc. καὶ*, articulus  
temporis *quo res aliqua debet agi*.  
*ἀκμή τύχης* summum discrimen  
*fortunæ bellicæ*.  
**Ακρίαντος**. 60. 20. incastigatus,  
adeoque dissolutus et inobedi-  
ens.  
**Ακρό**. 7. 7. fama.  
**Ακούειν**. 61. 1. audire *sc. cum*  
*effectu*, i. e. obtemperare.  
**Ακρόασις**. 4. 15. auscultatio, obe-  
dientia.  
**Αλίσχυμαι**. 46. 13. capior.  
**Αλλὰ τί μοι τι ἀπὸ τινος**. 21. 19.  
commuto i. e. unum alteri præ-  
fero.  
**Αλότιος**. 44. 5.  
**Αμφοτέρων**. \* 9. in consiliis, cona-  
tibus, aut re aliquâ gerendâ  
frustror, infelici successu rem  
gero. 40. 5. destituor. 39. 2.  
*ἡμφοτέρων* offensiones, opera  
seu

# I N D E X.

- seu actiones, quæ perperam facta sunt, *vel*, quæ non succedunt.
- Αμάρτυς. 7. 11. non testatus, nullo teste comprobatus.
- Αμαυρία. \*\* 15. obscuro, obliero.
- Αμβλύς ἄμι. 6. 21. *Cic. vertente, Tusc. Disp. III. §. 28.* obtorpui.
- Αμβλύτης. 6. 21. *metaph.* languidior, remissior, tardior.
- Αμάρτωμα. \*\* 6. pertransco.
- Αμνησία. 20. 10. oblivio.
- Αμύνομαι. 5. 15. — 20. 2. dimico, me tueor. 45. 18. resisto.
- Αμύνομαι π. 3. 18. — 22. 19. — 23. 11. propulso, tueor me contra. 9. 3. — 22. 22. ulciscor, hostium injuriam propulso.
- Αμύνω πι. 20. 3. — 27. 20. suppetias eo, auxilior, succurro.
- Αμφιστοχία ἀδὲ πινός. 17. 12. litigo, contendo *de hoc tanquam ad me pertinet.*
- Αμφιστοχία. 25. 5. controversor, controversiam moveo.
- Αμφιστοχισμός. 24. 10. dubius, quod controversiam patitur.
- Αναιδής πινός. 11. 11. differre.
- Ανάγκη, *passim*. necessitas.
- Αναγκάτιον πὶ ἀρεστία. 30. 1. primas deferre oportet.
- Αναίρεσις. 1. 9. — 39. 17. sublatio cadaverum ad sepeliendum. jus sepulture.
- Αναίδης. 10. 2. qui non sentitur.
- Ανακαταίρεμα. 23. 18. persequor, nisi forte referatur ad τὴν θάλατταν, repurgo.
- Αναμνήω. 44. 1. expecto.
- Αναλίπω. 31. 22. utendo absumo, consumo, dilapido.
- Ανάμνησις. 48. 3. commonesactio, seu actio commonescendi alium, et faciendi ut reminiscatur aliquid rei. ὑπόμνησις. *Hesych.*
- Αναμφιστοχία. 48. 21. sine ullâ controversiâ.
- Αναμίσγιστος. 11. 3. cui nullus se in certamine opponit.
- Ανάξιος. 26. 11. indignus, diversus ab eo quod dignitas et merita postulant.
- Ανατάραγμα. 33. 2. aptus sum *Cicerone vertente Tusc. V. pen-deo.*
- Ανδραποδίζομαι. 52. 2. *de arbe*, in servitutem redigor, subjugor.
- τὸ Ἀνδρῶν. 5. 10. fortitudo virilis, *seu*, quæ viros decet.
- Ανομιος. 5. 10. solute et liberé.
- Αναστός. 2. 23. tolerabilis.
- Ανελπίτης. 25. 12. præter spem accidens.
- Ανελπίτης. 38. 14. præter spem.
- Ανεπαχθής. 4. 13. non invidiose, non importune.
- Αναιρέσις. 56. 2. maiorem afferens, tristis, acerbus.
- Αίσημα. 53. 21. erigo.
- Αντίπαλος, 11. 2. adversarius, æmulus. 47. 22. anceps, æquo Marte certans. ἔναγ 27. oblucari, repugnare.
- Ανίσωτος. 19. 12. inæqualis.
- Ανώνυμος. 39. 8. ἄδξος H. nomine carens, *id est*, celebritate, ignobilis, obscurus.
- Ἄξιον. *passim*. dignum, par est, decet.
- Ἄξιον. 19. 16. dignor. 21. 2. audeo. 33. 10. — 50. 20. volo, peto, postulo *ut rem quam æquam esse iudico.* 40. 22. — 41. 6. — 51. 20. dignum esse iudico, æquum censeo. 44. 7. puto, existimo. *τινα τινας.* 55. 4. dignor, aliquid alicui permitto tanquam digno *qui illud accipiat.*
- Ἄξιωμα. 2. 2. dignitas, auctoritas.
- Ἀξιωμα. 4. 6. existimatio honorifica,



# I N D E X.

- fica, quæ scilicet viam aperit ad dignitatem.*
- Αξύνετο.** 2. 2. insipiens.
- Απαρρένω.** 28 24. fatisco, frangor, animum despondeo.
- Απειὴς κακῶν.** 45. 4. inexpertus malorum, insuetus malis, adeoque impatiens.
- Απαλλάττομαι.** 8. 20. discedo *sc. è vitâ.* *passim.* liberor, solvor. 29. 22. digredior.
- Απαντάω.** 44. 3. — 51. 2. obviam procedo, *sensu militari.*
- Απερηστήτος.** 57. 13. inexorabilis.
- Απειη.** 5. 7. dolus.
- Απέπι.** 25. 18. renuntio, sinem facio præ lassitudine.
- Απειρος.** 40. 4. — 38. 2. inexpertus, *ὃ μὴ ἔχων πείραν*, qui non habet peritiam ab experientia, rudis. 45. 5. **ἀπειροῦ ἀνδρῶν ἄγασθαι.**
- Απειρος.** 45. 7. infinitus, immensus.
- Απιδύνομαι.** 19. 7. repulsam patior.
- Απὸ χρίσεως τινός** odiosum esse, in alicujus odium incurere.
- Απίχομαι πνός.** 60. 23. abstinenter me gero erga aliquem.
- ὡς Απισίων.** 60. 16. *idem quod ἀπισίων* imperium minime detrectandum esse.
- Αποδύνω.** 43. 8. descendo ex navi, copias expono.
- Απορίνομαι.** 1. 4. absfum. *hinc*, *mo-* *rior.*
- Απογινώσκω.** 49. 22. renuntio.
- Αποδίδωμι.** 51. 17. — 53. 20. reddo, efficio.
- Απειράω.** 49. 17. subduco me, fugio.
- Αποδύομαι.** 15. 19. positis vestimentis me paro ad —
- Απαθνήσκω.** 64. 1. de morte violentâ.
- Απολαύω.** 56. 12. commodum seu fructum capio.
- Απαλείπω.** 38. 15. relinquo post me.
- Απολογίζομαι.** 54. 4. ostendo argumentis, quasi relatis rationibus.
- Απορίω.** 25. 17. difficultas, res perplexæ *e quibus explicare nos non possumus.*
- Απειροῦ.** 56. 5. inops, indigus; *qui in ejusmodi difficultatibus constitutus est, ut ex iis se explicare nequeat.*
- Απεφάινω.** 53. 20. reddo, præsto.
- Απράσμων.** 6. 8. quietus, iners, *sc. vir bonus et placidis moribus qui negotium aliis exhibere non solet, et simul qui sibi negotia non libenter exhibet.*
- Απεικής.** 5. 23. sine dignitate. non indecorus.
- Απροσφασίως.** 60. 24. sine recitatione.
- Απλομαι.** 27. 9. aggredior, invado, manus infero.
- Απειδίω.** 5. 19. beneficentia. *passim* virtus. 58. 13. virtutis laus.
- Αμισίον.** 22. 14. præmium seu honorarium quod datur ei qui omnium fortissimè et strenuissimè se gerit.
- Αρετοκρατία.** 19. 3. *proprie* Optimum principatus, *hinc* optime constitutum imperium.
- Αρχή.** 34. 18. magistratus.
- Αρχω.** 12. 9. — 19. 9. magistratum gero. 12. 5. — 47. 5. impereo, præsum.
- Αρχήδρις** *sc. rē* subditi. 61. 6. Duces.
- Αρχομαι.** 35. 2. incipio.
- Αρωή.** 24. 6. auxilium, subsidium.
- Αστέιομαι.** 39. 15. impiè contemnor.
- Ασθίνω.** 19. 6. tenuitas opum, paupertas.

# I N D E X.

Ἀσκήσις τι. 31. 7. operam do alicui rei.

Ἀσκησις. 5. 9. exercitatio.

Ἀσπάζομαι. 26. 24. lubenter.

Ἀσπάζομαι. 56. 19. amicè excipio, amplector, amo.

Ἀσπασίας. 51. 18. à seditione immunis.

Ἀσπας. 1. 10. Civis, *nomen peculiare Atheniensibus, quorum Urbs dicebatur Ἀσπας*.

Ἀσφάλεια. 10. 15. securitas.

Ἀπείχης. 35. 8. planè, profecto.

Ἀπλῶς, κατὰ πᾶν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν λόγῳ,

ἀληθῶς. *Schol.* Aristoph. *Plut.*

πικρὴ Atticis est dolus; hinc

Ἀπείχης, ἀπὸ τῆς πικρῆς sine dolo, ergo verè, revera.

Ἀτιμωσία. 45. 3. contumelia afflicto.

Ἀὖ. 13. 3. rursus, vicissim.

Ἀυθαίρετος. 3. 16. rebus omnibus instructissimus, ita ut ei abunde suppetant omnia. qui suis praefidiis munitus non eget ope alterius.

Ἀυτάρκης. 7. 4. satis instructus.

Ἀυτάρκτος. 57. 17. qui fortuito oritur, vel sponte naturæ venit.

ὁ Ἀυτάρκς. 54. 15. — 18. idem.

Ἀυτοσχιδίαζειν. 14. 5. — 19. 1. ex tempore dicere.

Ἀυτόχθων. 22. 12. eodem solo innatus quod quis incolit.

τὸ Ἀφαιὶς τοῦ κατηγόρου. 8. 15. incertus successus.

Ἀφανεία. 4. 9. (*sensu metaphorico ut ei contrarium ei λαμπρότης*) obscuritas.

Ἀφανής. 1. 9. non apparens, ab aspectu remotus.

Ἀφανίζω. 40. 16. ab aspectu removeo, tollo ex oculis. ἑφανίσθη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων evanuit ex conspectu hominum.

Ἀφαιδία. 9. 20. — 44. 10. non

parco vitæ vel corpori, expuens me facile cuivis periculo.

Ἀφθόνια. 37. 12. copia, abundantia.

Ἀφίσταμαι. 17. 10. adeo. 21. 24. pervenio.

Ἀφίστημι. 28. 34. discedo, deficio a fide datâ.

Ἀχάρις. 33. 18. injucundus, immoriger.

Ἀχθηδών. 4. 13. dolor.

## B.

Βάρεσθαι. 15. 17. *generatim* omnes, qui diverso ab aliis sermone utuntur. In Asiâ, ii qui erant in ditione Regis Persarum; In Europâ, Thracæ, Getæ, Præones, Epirotæ.

Βασιλευσέναι. 42. 21. regor. 48. 14. dominatione opprimor.

Βασιλεύς. *passim*, Rex Persarum. Cum enim Cyrus Assyriæ et Mediæ regna in Persas transtulisset & Asiam debellâisset, vocatus est *μείζων βασιλεύς*, a quo postea Persarum reges *μεγαλούς βασιλέας* appellari se voluerunt.

Βιάζομαι. adigor.

Βίος. 55. 6. vita, victus.

Βλάβη. 6. 11. damnum, detrimentum.

Βοηθία. *passim*. suppetias eo. 58. 25. venio ad auxiliandum, *περὶ* sc. honores et majestas Deorum violentur.

Βοτίν. 23. 7. pecus, bestia circur.

Βυλότης. 12. 2. curia.

Βύλησις. 3. 4. voluntas, votum.

Βράχος. \* 4. certaminis arbiter, iudex.

# I N D E X.

## Γ.

- Γῆ. οὐ τῇ γῇ. 5. 17.  
 Γηροπρεβία. 34. 12. alo aliquem  
 in senectute et ei necessaria sub-  
 ministro.  
 Γνώσκω. 31. 22. existimo, statuo.  
 44. 3. decerno. sic Rom. 6. 6.  
 hoc cogitantes eaque cogitatio-  
 ne excitati ad agendum pro  
 dignitate &c. γνώσις ὅμοια. 42.  
 22. sentio. 48. 17. iudicio.  
 Γήσιος. 48. 23. germanus, inge-  
 nuus, originem habens legiti-  
 mam, non fucatus.  
 Γνώμη. 1. 1. — 9. 16. — 21. 3.  
 prudentia, mens, animus. 60.  
 20. certum animi iudicium.  
 τῇ Γνώμῃ. 4. 19. consulo, de in-  
 dustriā.  
 Γαγγύω. 13. 7. præstigiis et in-  
 cantatione illicio, fallo.

## Δ.

- Δαιμόνιον. 58. 24. Deus supre-  
 mus, divinitas mundi modera-  
 trix.  
 Δαίμων. 57. 13. cuiusque Genius  
 præstes, conciliator fortunæ vel  
 bonæ vel adversæ.  
 Δαῖμον. \* 3. periculum.  
 Δανίς. *passim*, gravis. πρὶ Δανά.  
 60. 11. res formidolosæ.  
 πρὶ Δανὸν. 61. 5. periculum, ma-  
 lum imminetæ.  
 Δανὸς λίγων. 19. 16. peritus di-  
 cendi, qui arte dicendi valet.  
 Δεξιόμαι. 47. 12. dextram jun-  
 go, amplector.  
 Δέωμαι. 50. 9. quæro.  
 Δωρεῖσθαι. 22. 15. præmium quod  
 datur iis qui secundum obtinent  
 locum.  
 Δωτέρες. 20. 7. inferior.

- Δέχομαι. 22. 4. sustineo impetum;  
 resisto.  
 Δηλαδὴ. 12. 3. an forte, videlicet.  
 Δημοκρατία. 19. 1. imperium po-  
 pulare.  
 Δύεαι. \* 1. pugna.  
 Διαγίγνεται. perseverare, perma-  
 nere.  
 Διαδοχῇ. 3. 9. per successionem,  
 aliis succedentibus aliis.  
 Διατίομαι. 5. 10. vitam ago,  
 dego.  
 Διακινδυνεύω μάχην. 22. 13. peric-  
 ulum subeo in bello.  
 Διακρίνω. 24. 11. aperio quod res  
 est; vel dirimo *sc. contentio-*  
*nem*.  
 Διαλύει φέρον. 23. 3. discussio,  
 finio.  
 Διατίομαι. *sc. ὅτι πρὸς τούτοις ὡς*  
*ἐπιχειροῦν*. 23. 15. eo sum a-  
 nimo erga illum ut cogitem in-  
 vadere.  
 Διαβλάπτω. 24. 1. de bello, ex-  
 haurior.  
 Διαπέμπω. 59. 8. impetro.  
 Διασώζω. 55. 9. conservo, tueor.  
 Διαπλέω. perito in, preservo.  
 Διατριβή. 60. 9. mora.  
 Διαφίρον. 19. 12. — 38. 17. an-  
 tecellere, præstare.  
 Διαφίρον. 5. 3. discrepo. *μεγάλα*  
*πρὶ Διαφίρον*. 9. 23. magno-  
 pere interest.  
 Διαφωρίσας τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. 34.  
 17. egregiè præter cæteros.  
 Διαφθορά. 34. 11. internecio.  
 Διαφθορά. 26. 17. diffidium. 39.  
 21. controversia.  
 Διαφωρον. 4. 5. *sc. πρὸς ἄλλους*. res  
 controversia, *sive* diffidium, con-  
 troversia.  
 Διαπραγματίζω. 7. 21. do-  
 teo.  
 Διδωμι ἔλεγον. 50. 2. demonstro.  
 Δίωμι. 38. 6. Percurro oratione,  
 pargo.

# I N D E X.

**Αντιέχομαι.** commemoro per partes singulas.

**Απεινύομαι.** 21. 13. pervestigo.

**Αιτήσις.** 4. 20. per totum annum durans.

**Δίσσω.** 21. 16. discedo, extendo me.

**Δίκαιος εἰμι.** 30. 16. *idem quod δίκαιοι εἰν ἐμὶ* æquum est me.

**Δικαίω.** 15. 18. justum et æquum cenfeo.

**Δίκην δύναι.** 39. 6. pœnas dare. — ἔχειν. 39. 14. pœnas subire.

**Διχότι.** 10. 15. bifariâ.

**Δοκίω.** ἐ ἀληθῆ ἰδοῖς. 26. 16. et hæc vera videbantur, neque eos fefellit hæc opinio.

**Δύναμαι σώματι.** 51. 7. valeo, valido sum corpore.

**οἱ Δυνάμει.** 40. 24. potentiâ præditi, potentes.

**Δυναστία.** 42. 13. paucorum dominatio.

**ὡς Δυνατὸν.** 60. 13. quàm maxime.

**Δυσχεύω.** 25. 19. adversum fortunam experior.

**Δυσχεύονται.** 55. 12. ea quæ infeliciter gesta sunt.

**Δυσχεύω.** 30. 1. difficultas locorum orta sive ab asperitate sive ab angustia.

## B.

**Εάν μή.** 34. 6. si non, etiamsi non.

**Εγκρίσιμι.** 52. 16. constitutor.

**Εγκλημῶ.** 50. 9. querela, criminatio.

**Εγκρατής.** 19. 4. compos, qui in potestate habet.

**Εγκωμιάζω.** 23. 12. laudo, celebroy.

**Εθῆς.** 10. 12. assuetus.

**Εθιλοντής.** 28. 19. miles voluntarius, qui sponte militat.

**Εθίζω.** 23. 7. assuefacio.

**Εἶδω.** 33. 15. persuasum me habeo.

**Εἰδέναι χάριν.** 23. 22. habere gratiam.

**Εἴη.** 58. 24. credibile esset, optandum foret.

**οὐκ ἀπῆ.** 13. 4. non temere, non sine consilio.

**Εἰκότων μῶλλον.** 56. 22. merito magis, justius.

**Εὐκρινῶς.** 29. 11. purè, sincerè, q. d. τῇ ἄλῃ κρινόμενον, quoniam ad ἄλην splendorem solis, τὰ μισμύματα καὶ τὰ ἀμυγῆ facile διακρίνεται.

**Εἰμφορται.** 20. 22. assignatum est fatali quâdam velut partitione, fato decretum est.

**Εἴμι.** 3. 22. eo, ibo.

**Εἰμί.** τὸν σὸν ὄντα. 10. 24. eum qui esse desiit, mortuum.

**Εἰπὶν.** 37. 13. loqui disertè, eloqui. ἔπει. 28. 8. pro imperio edixit, iussit.

**Εκάντη.** 13. 12. semper. ἀπὸ πλεῖστον. Hefseb.

**Εκγίνεταί.** 39. 2. licet, contingit, facultas datur.

**Εκδιχμαί.** 28. 20. expecto.

**Εκλογίζομαι.** 6. 14. subductis rationibus expendo, confidero.

**Εκπλίσσω.** 4. 22. *metaph.* excutio.

**ἐκπλίσσομαι, παύω.** petcellor, consternor.

**Εκφέρω.** 15. 13. effero i. e. divulgò, enuntio.

**Εκφορά.** 1. 6. elatio funeris.

**Ελαυν.** 18. 9. oleum.

**Ελαττόομαι.** 54. 1. diminuo.

**Ελαίω.** 55. 17. commiseror.

**Ελευθερία.** 19. 20. ingenuitas, libertas.

**Ελπίζω.** 47. 11. de malis timeo, suspicor.

Εμψύω

## L.

# INDEX.

Εμποιῶν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν. 52. 14. navem conscendo.

Εμποιῶν ἔχει πνίς. 59. 4. aliquem usu cognoscere.

τὸ μὴ Εμποῶν. 11. 13. quod non contrarium est, quod non impedimento est.

Εμποῶν πνί. 60. 16. in animum alicujus indere. 62. 8. incutere pudorem.

Εἰ τοῖς ἐνδοκιμωμένοις ἦσαν. 21. 12. erant celeberrimi.

Εναντιόμας. 6. 18. contrario instituto utor.

Ενάντιος, ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή. 9. 21. mutatio in contrarium, adversa commutatio, sc. ex prospera fortuna ad adversam.

Εναυλῶ. 13. 21. tinniens, id quo veluti post tibiaram cantum aures adhuc personant.

Ενδοσίμω. 20. 2. minus quam par sit. similiter Thuc. L. 1. φαίνοισι' ἂν ὑποδίσσετο — δηλῶται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδίσσετο ὅτι τὸ φήμης — ἐῖς τὸ Ενδοχόρδον τὸ λύπη. 58. 11. in quantum vel quatenus luctus eorum admittit.

μὴ Ενδῶς. 6. 7. non insufficienter i. e. admodum peritē.

Ενδοκώμας. 9. 17. inhabito.

Ενδύδωμι. 8. 18. cedo, non rector.

Ενι. 6. 6. pro ἐνι licet.

Εντάφιον. \*\* 13. quicquid ad funus pertinet, speciatim, vestis, quā mortuorum corpora honeste ad sepulturam involvebantur.

Εντήκω. 29. 15. infusus sum, penitus infigor, metaphorā sumpta ab iis quibus plumbum liquefactum infusum est, et ita inhaeret ut eximi nequeat: quod in lapidum juncturis videre est.

Εντός τῆς ἡλικίας — 50. 20. infra aetatem militarem.

Εντογχαῖω 5. 16. occorro.

Εντογχαῖω. πικρὰ τῇ ἐντογχαῖᾳ ἀπὸ — καιρῶ. 9. 13. quotiescunque occasio sese obtulerit. 34. 14. incido in aliquem. 35. 23. adeo, convenio.

Εξ ὁλίγων ἡμερῶν. 37. 4. post paucos dies. vid. not.

Εξάγωμας. 53. 1. avocet, digredior.

Εξουσίω. 28. 24. mihi dari peto, exposco ad poenam, sic ἐξουσίωμας. 40. 19.

Εξαμωχτάτω ἐς. 40. 1. injuriosum erga. —

ὁ Εξῆς. 22. 20. qui ordine proximus est, sequens.

Εξόν. 24. 23. — 45. 9. 60. 4. cum liceret. Attici impersonalium participia absolute ponunt. H.

Εξουσιάζω. 40. 2. insolentius effector, contumeliosus sum.

Επαγγέλλω. 37. 3. denuntiatio, edico. — κελύω. H.

Επαινία τῷ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. 30. 14. hoc illis laudi potissimum duco.

Επακούω. 3. 24. audio tanquam a præceptore.

Επαναρθῶ. 55. 11. emendo, restituo in integrum. Heb. 12. 12.

Επιμιμν. 3. 18. invado hostiliter. Επηλυς. 16. 24. extraneus, peregrinus.

Επιούλιον. 21. 7. insidiosè aliquid apparo contra. —

Επιούλιον φησὶ τῆς. 24. 1. insidiosè molior exitium alicujus.

Επιγίγνομαι. 3. 9. succedo, postnascor.

Επικαρυάμας. 26. 2. missis educateoribus sollicito. ἀπὸ φιλίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης χερσὶς πεινῶν. Harpocr.

Επίκωρ. 27. 23. auxiliator, qui oppugnantis auxilio venit.

Επιμί-

# I N D E X.

**ἐπιμέλεια.** 58. 23. cura, quæ habetur rerum humanarum a Deo.  
**ἐπιμνησκόμενος πρὸς τινός.** 20. 11. mentionem facio, commemoro.  
**ἐπίπλησις.** 5. 18. missio.  
**ἐπίπνοιος.** 5. 9. laboriosus.  
**ἐπίσημος.** 9. 11. illustris.  
**ἐπισημαίνω.** 30. 17. — 34. 9. obtestor, mando; *usus hujus verbi est accommodatus extremis mandatis, hominumque morientium precibus, quippe ab amicis et necessariis heredibusque contententium, quasque fidei ipsorum committentium.*  
**ἐπιτίδνυμι.** 31. 8. — 35. 1. studium, institutum, mores.  
**ἐπιτίδνυσις.** 3. 20. studium, institutum, industria, disciplina.  
**ἐπιτιδνύω π.** 32. 5. studiosè sector.  
**ἐπίτροπος.** 58. 19. tutor, quibus committitur cura liberorum ad hoc impuberum, sive id fiat rogatu parentum morientium, sive sponte suscipiatur.  
**ἐπιτρέπω.** 57. 16. permitto.  
**ἐπιφανής.** 31. 12. conspicuus.  
**τὸ ἐπίχρησ.** 61. 7. quod ad gratiam conciliandam aptum est.  
**ἐπιχρῆμα πρὸς τινός.** 6. 14. in manus aliquid sumo circa quod incumbam, aggredior. *cum inf.* 12. 6. studeo. *ἐπὶ πινά.* 23. 16. adior, invado.  
**ἐπίων.** 22. 18. invadens, irruens.  
**ἐπομαι.** 3. 3. sequor, obsequor.  
**ἐρευνα.** 9. 9. collatio, contributio, quod quis pro virili parte confert.  
**ἐρέω.** majorem in modum cupio.  
**ἐρευν.** 2. 14. opus, factum, res. *passim opponitur λόγῳ; includiturque alicubi ἔργῳ veritatis quædam significatio.* 1 Pot. 3. 1. Raphael. ib. 8. 19. belli confictus. 27. 24. — 42. 18. munus, officium, partes. 42. 20.

opera, ministerium. *καλὸν δὲ ἔργον* 47. 45. 8. difficile, operosum esset.  
**ἐρημος.** 46. 12. desertus.  
**ἐρχομαι.** *ἐς πύραν ἔρχεσθαι.* 7. 8.  
**ἐστία πρᾶγμα.** 35. 3. domus paterna.  
**ἐχάτως.** 59. 5. maximè, summè.  
**εὐ λέγειν τινά.** 14. 8. laudes aliqujus peragere.  
**εὐ πράττειν.** 24. 3. prosperà fortuà uti.  
**ευγενεια.** 16. 23. generis claritas, nobilitas.  
**ευδοκίμη.** 14. 9. probor.  
**ευδοξία.** 19. 2. dignitas, bona existimatio. 32. 4. *in plur.*  
**εὐθὺς ἀδ.** 5. 9. statim, extemplo.  
**ευδωλός.** 16. 9. — 32. 7. benevolè, amicè.  
**ευμεταχώρητος.** 62. 14. qui facile circumveniri potest.  
**ευπορία.** 14. 3. habeo copiam et facultatem.  
**ευρίσκωμαι.** 41. 16. nanciscor, impetro. Rom. 4. 1. Heb. 9. 12.  
**εὐρύς \*\*** 14. situs, mucus.  
**ευτίλεια.** 6. 24. parsimonia.  
**ευτεταπίλωσις.** 7. 4. dextrè. *εὐκνήτως, ἐνδεξίως. Scb.*  
**τὸ εὐψυχον.** 5. 8. animositas, magnanimitas.  
**ἐχω.** 21. 10. habeo, retineo. — *δι ὀργῆς.* 4. 12. irascor. — *ἐκ τῆς ἐκλήσεως.* 7. 8, 9. — *κατάμαρτυρον, pro παρὶχω,* præbeo causam indignationis vel querelæ. — 20. 15. cohibeo, reprimo. *ἐκ τῆς ἔχων.* 12. 4. *τὴν ἐξέλιπον.* sc. *πῶς.* 20. 8, 9. debitum honorem nanciscor. 21. 17. — 22. 17. possum. — *ἔπεινον.* 25. 20. — 22. 24. laudor. *δέξω.* 26. 15. existimor, famà ita inclaresco ut existimer. — *τὸν νόμον.* 49. 9. habere sententiam.

# I N D E X.

παλαπίνηνσιν ἰχθύνων. 41. 12. habito, incolo. — μέαν. 27. 6. mentionem facio. — συνημην. 27. 11. habere veniam *tam de eo* qui veniam dat, *quatenus* qui veniam impetrat — χάρει τινός. 36. 2. gratiam habeo. — — δίκην. 39. 14. poenas subire.

Ἐχέριμος φέο. 22. 2. timor qui occupaverat, qui adhæserat; *vel* qui sequebatur deinceps *sem* inde oriebatur.

## Z.

Ζευγνύω. 45. 16. jungo, *sc.* ponte.

Ζηλόμα. 44. 23. — 54. 10. laudor, ad imitandum proponor.

Ζῆλος. 52. 23. æmulatio.

Ζηλόω. 4. 1. æmulator. 55. 23. — 56. 6. — 58. 1. beatum prædico.

Ζηλωτός. 55. 7. beatus, cui merito quis invidet et æmuletur. 57. 19. expetendus.

## H.

Ηγίωμα. *passim.* præsum, impero. — ἀδὲ ἰλάττων. 55. 19. minoris æstimo.

Ηδονή. καθ' ἡδονήν. 4. 12. pro libito.

Ηλίστος. stolidus.

Ηλικία. 50. 13. Juvēntus, juvenum multitudo, *sc.* qui per ætatem in armis esse possunt. 50. 20. οἱ τ' ἡλικίας ὄντες γαρονότις. impuberes. — κατ' ἡλικίαν. 3. 14. firma, firmata ætas, *vel* justa, plena ætas.

Ηπιος. *sc.* γῆ. 22. 11. terra con-  
ticipens.

Ηττώμα. πνός. 46. 5. inferior evado.

Ηττων. 57. 12. minor, qui succumbit.

## Θ.

Θάνατον. 56. 13. Morti addico.

Θαυμάζω. 57. 8. suspicio, in admiratione habeo, magni habeo.

Θαυμάσιος. 12. 6. admirabilis, illustis. ὃ θυνυμύσσει *ironicè.*

Θᾶος. 45. 13. a Deo constitutus.

Θείπτει. 28. 5. maxime admirandum. Θεόν, τὸ εἶναι ἀφ' ἑμῶν, ὡς τὸ ἄξιον λόγου, ὥστε θυνυμύσσει. *Hesych.*

Θιοφιλής. 17. 11. Deo charus.

Θιεραπύω. *passim.* curo, famulor, — νόμον. 58. 4. obtempero, servo.

Θιεραπίς. 28. 11. cultrix, ad præstandum obsequium paratissima,

## I.

Ιδίω. 38. 18. forma. (*sc.* ὁνόμενος.) species.

Ιερόν. 47. 17. templum.

Ισογνία. 19. 17. æqualitas generis.

Ιστομία. 19. 17. æquabilitas juris.

Ιστυλαίς κίνδυνος. 5. 11. paria certaminum pericula.

Ισῆροπος. 8. 2. æqualis, par.

Ισημι ἀξέπαυτον πνός *i. e.* ἐπὶ πνός. 53. 17. tropæum de aliquo statuo.

## K.

Καθαιρέω. 27. 19. everto, diruo, 53. 21. *passive.*

Καθάρως. 29. 15. permixtus.

Καθίζωμα. 40. 19. sedeo.

Καθίσταμα. 58. 20. fio, sum.

Καθίστημι. 39. 9. reddo, efficio.

# I N D E X

- εἰς ἄλτιον. 41. 20. perduco ad  
 securitatem. 42. 1. instituo.  
 — πῆρῳ. 55. 22. amoveo. κω-  
 τισσῶν pro καταστῆσαι ἐν  
 χάριτι. 34. 21. constituta in  
 personā, partes seu personam su-  
 mens. 24. 8. conjicio in bel-  
 lum.  
 Καὶ γὰρ τι. 57. 21. etenim.  
 Κακία. 27. 9. — 52. 9. improbi-  
 tas, vitiositas.  
 Κακηπραγμία. 9. 20. infelix sum,  
 adversā fortunā utor.  
 Κάκωσις. 9. 24. offensio.  
 Κακός, 33. 18. affligo.  
 Κάκως. 31. 10. dicitur de quāvis  
 pulcritudine, de omni eo ἐφ' ᾧ τις  
 κωδύνεται pulcior aut honestior  
 evadat et sibi ipsi placeat. spe-  
 ciatim 21. 11. pro pulcritu-  
 dine oris.  
 Κάμνω. 7. 22. laborem suscipio.  
 Καμόντες. \* 7. mortui.  
 Καμνήν. 10. 12. forti animo sum.  
 28. 12. obfirmo animum, per-  
 severo in proposito.  
 Καμίζωμαι. 21. 19. deducor, de-  
 scendo, nave appulsā.  
 Κακωδύλομαι passim. subjugo.  
 Κακωλύομαι. 58. 25. evertor, de-  
 struor.  
 βίαν Καποσκινύζω, 18. 12. instruo  
 vitam omnibus facultatibus seu  
 rebus ad vitam necessariis.  
 Καποσκινύζωμαι τὴν πολιτείαν. 18.  
 17. instituo rempublicam.  
 Καποσκινύ. 4. 21. opificium or-  
 namenti gratiā instructum.  
 Καποστροφή. 8. 5. exitus, finis, sc.  
 vitæ.  
 Καποστήζωμαι φανερόν ἔχθρου. 43.  
 18. apertas inimicitias suscipio.  
 Καποχρησίζωμαι. 31. 22. abutor, uti  
 aliorum quāam natura rei postu-  
 lat, consumo.  
 Καποψύδωμαι τιος. 32. 21. men-  
 daciter confingo, ementior de  
 aliquo.  
 Κατεργάζομαι βίαν τὴν ἐλευθε-  
 ρίαν. 50. 1. opera mea sta-  
 bilio.  
 Κατέρχομαι. 53. 5. descendo, mi-  
 gro. 53. 21. — 54. 8. redeo  
 ut exul.  
 Κατεῖν. 36. 5, 6. eloquar, pro-  
 dam.  
 Κατηργέω. 28. 9. reprehendo.  
 Κατηρῶ. instauro, cum virtute ac  
 laude aliquid facio.  
 οἱ Κάτω. 39. 14. Manes.  
 Κάμας. 4. 16. proponor, consti-  
 tuor. sic 1 Tim. 1. 9.  
 Κάραδω. 52. 18.  
 κηλίωμαι. 13. 13. permulceor, de-  
 linior.  
 κή. \*\* 7. in pl. fatum lethife-  
 rum, lethum.  
 κινδύνωμαι. 2. 17. in periculum  
 adducor. 9. 22. periclitor.  
 κινδυνῶ. 46. 1. ἡθοῦς κινδύν,  
 dimicatione facta. πεινάζ. 50.  
 21. suscipere periculum.  
 κινδυνύω. 5. 22. pericula adeo,  
 suscipio. 12. 15. videor. 51.  
 11. — 53. 16. belli discrimen  
 adeo, dimico.  
 κλέ. \*\* 19. — 38. 20. fama,  
 gloria.  
 κοιμίζωμαι. 58. 9. sopior, demul-  
 ceor, extinguor.  
 κοινοῖμαι πρὸς. 27. 17. communico  
 cum aliquo rem agendam, com-  
 munico cum aliquo nostrum  
 consilium.  
 κομίζωμαι. 39. 14. consequor, ob-  
 tineo.  
 κόμπες. 6. 4. — 7. 5. vana gran-  
 diloquentia, ostentatio et jacta-  
 tio verborum.  
 κοσμίω. passim. orno, honesto.  
 κόσμος. \*\* 19. decus.  
 κρατία. 19. 9. imperium obtineo,  
 dominor. 46. 7. potior.  
 κράτος. 19. 6. imperium.  
 κρείσσης. 6. 15. præstantissimus.  
κρείστων



# I N D E X.

ἐρεῖται ἐν αὐτῷ. 7. 7. praedicator  
famā.

καὶ ὄσι. 18. 3. hordeum.

ἐκείνου. 3. 13, 17. — 6. 19.  
— 48. 23. — 49. 3. acquirō,  
comparo. 38. 23. — 49. 7. —  
53. 5. comparo, acquirō, ac-  
cerſo mihi etiam quae mala sunt.  
53. 9. communem aliis ſecura  
procurantes civitatem. αὐτῶν ἡ-  
χῶς ἀποτελεῖς παντὸς. 44. 6.  
vid. not.

## A.

ἀάτων ἔχθ. i. e. ἔλαττον. 20. 10.

ἀαλχάνω. 57. 13. fortitō obtineo.

ἀαμύανω. ἐπιδὴ καὶ εὖς ἐλάμβαναι  
(i. e. ἀεχίν) occasione captā. for-  
ſan, formā aſſatiore, i. κα-  
εῖν. Αἶθ. 24. 25. πῶς ἔτι ἐναν-  
τίω πτωχῶν πωλυπύργων αὐτῶν  
8. 12. reputo. ἀαμύανω δι-  
νομεῖν. 30. 20. ſumo vires. ἀαμα-  
γάνωμαι ἐν αὐτῷ. 52. 22. nanciſ-  
cor.

ἀαωγάνω ἐν. 57. 3. ignoro me  
eſſe.

ἀάραξ. 1. 6. arca.

ὡς δὲ Δίω. 25. 24. hoc eſt quod  
velim, loquor hoc.

ἀαπέρηροι. 7. 19. — 11. 12. ſu-  
perſites.

ἀάω. 56. 9. definire facio.

ἀαρίζωμαι. ſtatuo perſuaſione firmā  
quae quaſi rationibus ſubductis  
et explicatis concluda ſit.

ἀαγιώτης. 6. 15. cogitatio, deli-  
beratio. 6. 23. computatio. ἀα-  
γιωμῷ ἀδελφῆς. 43. 19. ſecum re-  
putantes, ſecum ipſi pericula  
eximantes.

πρὸς ἀαπῆν. 51. 10. — 39. 3. fu-  
tura. 52. 1. reliqua.

πρὸς ἀαπῆν. 8. 23. ceteri, ſuper-  
ſites.

## M.

Μάθημα. 5. 5. inſtitutio, doctrina.  
Μακαρίζω τὸν (ὅτι) τὸν. 57. 25.  
beatum praedico, fortunatum ju-  
dico. Luc. 1. 48.

Μαλακίζωμαι. 8. 10. molleſco, ef-  
feminor.

Μάστιγμα. \* 3. μαρτύριοι δ' ἡρ-  
τῆς καὶ δεινότητος pugnantes tam  
virtutis ingenitae vi citati quam  
periculi ſenſu quod reipublicae  
imminebat.

Μαρτυρία. \*\* 17. — 17. 11. ſen-  
ſentiam teſtimonio comprobo.  
Heb. 10. 15.

Μακίω. 5. 3. cura, exercitatio,  
inſtitutum.

ἀ Μάται. 69. 23. notat non ſo-  
lūm ſimpliciter aliquid eſſe ad-  
miniſtrandam ſed recte et cum  
ſucceſſu.

ἐν Μίρῃ, 46. 20. per vices, alter-  
nis vicibus, ſeu diſcretim. καὶ  
μύρου. 4. 7. aliqui ex parte,  
nimirum oppoſitē toti communi-  
tati civium.

Μίρης. 47. 21. plenus.

Μεταμενοῦμαι. 59. 10. ſententiam  
muto.

Μεταδιδοῦμαι. 54. 9. communico.

Μεταπειμποῦμαι. 50. 18. accerſo.

Μετίζωμαι. 5. 10. perſequor ſum-  
mo ſtudio, conſector.

Μίται πάντες ἐν ἴσῳ. 4. 4. omnes  
ſunt participes aequi juris.

Μίτης. 49. 2. particeps ſio.

Μενοικῶν. 17. 1. inquilinus, nimi-  
rum qui patriā perſas aut aliās  
migrans ad ſe conſulit.

Μακίως. 2. 18. modice, ita ut ſa-  
tis ſit. συμμίτης, ἀξίως. Scb.

Μίχης αὖ ſub, χροῖν. uſque dum.

Μακίως.

# I N D E X.

**Μηκούσ.** 7. 21. pluribus verbis  
dissero.

**Μητρυιά.** 17. 3. noverca.

**Μισαίω.** 39. 15. polluo.

**Μικρός.** 50. 9. futilis.

**Μνήσις.** \*\* 12. memoria, monu-  
mentum.

**Μνήμη.** 3. 8. mentio, commemo-  
ratio.

**Μοῖρα.** 57. 13. fatum. 35. 9. *ὁ  
μῦθος πατρὸς κρησσηκούσ,* in loco  
patris constituta, partes vel per-  
sonam patris sumens.

**Μουσική.** 14. 20. scientia modulo-  
rum concinnorum. 20. 5. Poe-  
sis. 35. 7. studia quæ dicun-  
tur liberalia, literæ humaniores,  
*πραξιπαι ποῖσις. Μουσικὴν, πᾶσι  
τίχην εἰ ἀφίησι.* Hefych.

## N.

**Ναυόχων.** 47. 22. pars fractæ na-  
vis.

**τὸ Ναυτιόν.** 5. 17. res nautica.

**Νῆσι,** sic emphaticè dicuntur Cy-  
clades Insulæ Maris Ægei.

**Νικᾶν ναυμαχίαν.** — *πύλινον.* 26.  
13. vinco navali prælio—bello.

**τὸ Νομολόγιον.** 35. 5. — 39. 23.  
iusta, ritus qui in more sunt  
positi.

**Νομίζω.** 4. 20. moribus instituo.  
17. 19. lege sancio, colo. 19.  
15. — 38. 15. existimo.

**Νοσῶ.** 26. 23. male valeo, morbis  
civilibus laboro, *quales sunt in-  
testina discordia et seditiones.*

## Ξ.

**Ξηλαποσία.** 5. 5. ejectio peregri-  
norum.

**Ξύμφου.** 3. 24. utilis, commo-  
dus.

**Ξυναιεῖν.** 7. 1. contraho in unum,  
complector paucis.

**Ξυνόδυροναι.** 32. 11. deploro *tan-  
quam socius doloris.*

**Ξυνοικίω.** 31. 12. conjungor, ad-  
hæreo.

## Ο.

**Οικῶς.** 6. 6. privatus. 4. 24. —  
21. 5. propinquus, amicus. 22.  
15. proprius, suus. 26. 21. in-  
testinus.

**Οικίω.** 14. 1. mansionem habeo,  
vivo, dego, *passim.* 18. 16. rem  
meam administro. 4. 4. 19. 14.  
gero rempublicam.

**Οικητής.** \*\* 16. habitator, incola.

**Οἶκτος.** 48. 4. ejulatus, commise-  
ratio.

**Οικτιρός.** 55. 6. miserandus.

**Οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλά.** 13. 14. sicut  
plerumque. **Οἷος μέγας.** 47. 1.  
quàm magnus. **Οἷόν τι ἦ.** 57.  
9. fieri posset. *ὡς Οἷόν τι.* 22.  
22. quod possibile esset. **Οἷος τ'  
ἐμὶ.** *passim,* possum.

**Οἶτος.** \*\* 12. interitus.

**Οἰωνὺ χάριν.** 35. 2. auspicii gratiâ.

**Οκνέω.** 61. 5. metus adeundi la-  
boris.

**Ολοφύρομαι.** 1. 11. ejulo. 58. 5.  
comploratu prosequor. *πῖσις.*  
10. 4. — 47. 13. — 55. 16. com-  
miseror, vicem alicujus miseror.  
53. 1. — 57. 2. lamentor.

**ὅσα ἔσονται.** 10. 17. ex æquo.

**Ὁμολογούμενος.** 28. 19. manifeste,  
omnium consensu, sine contro-  
versâ. 1 *Tim.* 3. 16.

**Ὁμοιῶν.** 48. 23. consentaneus.

**Ὁρρίζομαι.** 53. 11. succenseo.

**Ὁρισμὸν ἔχει.** 58. 10. statuere po-  
test quousque *scilicet* quamdiu ali-  
quis doleat.

**Ὁρβάνιον.** 34. 21. Orbitas.

**Ὀυτιν.** 27. 22. *ν. not.*

**Ὀλῶτος.**

# I N D E X.

## Π.

**Πάθος.** 58. 8. casus, perturbatio animi, vel ægrotudo ex adversâ fortunâ oriunda.

**Παιάν.** 47. 19. *genus cantilenæ quod canebatur aut in belli congressu, aut in averfione malorum, sive morbi, sive belli.*

**Παιδεία.** 5. 9. institutio, instituendi ratio. disciplina i. e. morum gubernatio, quæ fit per afuefactionem, quotidiana exercitia, tempestivas castigationes et per exempla. *Epbes.* 6. 4.

**Παιδύσις.** 7. 2. disciplina.

**Παίζω.** 15. 17. ludo pueriliter et puerorum more.

**Πανδημία.** 50. 16. cum universâ multitudine, *sc. militum.*

**Παιονεργία.** 31. 15. calliditas. a *πανουργία*, qui nullâ non in re fit versatus, cujusmodi qui est, quoniam astutus et vaser esse solet, hinc fit ut pro fallaci et fraudulentulo accipiat.

**Πανταχῶ.** 38. 3. ubique gentium.

**Πανταλῆς.** 27. 13. universalis.

**Παντοδαπός.** 17. 16. omnigenus, omnis generis. 19. 11. qui est ex omni solo, omnifarius.

**Παρελπίδα.** 27. 1. præter expectationem et spem.

**Παραβάλλωμαι παίδας.** 10. 17. obijcio *sc. periculis.*

**Παρανύω.** 17. 9. — 58. 11. hortor. *π. πνί.* 49. 17. admoneo.

**Παρακινύωμαι.** 16. 10. adhortor.

**Παρακινύσμεν.** 47. 19. adhortatio.

**Παραλαμβάνω.** 38. 21. assumo in societatem. *ΑΡ.* 15. 39.

**Παραμυθίζωμαι.** 16. 12. consolor.

**Παρασравниваю.** 31. 21. me accingo, me comparo, do operam.

**ἐν τῷ Παραχρήματι.** 8. 11, 14. in ipsius rei actione, in præsentî, impræsentiarum. *ἐν τῷ Παραχρήματι.* 15. 6. extempore.

**Παρίχτω.** 53. 19. exhibeo. *sic παρίχω.* 32. 23.

**Παρθένω.** 10. 18. confenesco, e flore ætatis egressus in senectutem vergo.

**Παράδο.** 46. 7. transitus, transitus secundi copia.

**Πάρομαι ἀγαθόν.** 41. 5. *Πάσχω εἶ.* 6. 19. — 27. 16. commodo afficior, accipio beneficium. *κωκῶς.* 27. 15. malo multor. *πῦθ.* 13. 17. eadem in me expior.

**Πατρίς.** 17. 2. patria.

**Πάρεμ.** 9. 8. conatus.

**Πενία.** 4. 8. inopia. *minus quam πτωχεία, et sæpe sensu bonesto.*

**Περαινώ.** 30. 9. perduco ad finem, perficio.

**Πελαριόμαι.** 27. 18. aufero, diripio.

**Περίάβω.** 49. 10. circumdo.

**Περίγρηγνι.** 5. 22. contingit, obvenit, *q. d.* illud bonum consequimur.

**Περίστημι.** 46. 10. circumsto. 52. 23. oborior. 28. 6. *ὥςτις ἀπεστήται αὐτῷ sc. πρὸς πρὸς γινώσκει,* ut ita res illi in contrarium cederent, et circumactæ essent, ut eo redactus esset ut —

**Περίλειμω.** 15. 8. reliquæ.

**Περίσσομαι.** 9. 19. negligo, negligenter sero.

**π. Πιστι.** 6. 24. fiducia.

**Πλανόμαι.** 33. 5. erro, in errorem impellor, a veritatis nimiam tramite deturbatus, et velut locorum ignarus modo huc modo illuc appulsus.

**Πλουτίζωται.** 2. 21. amplificari. *sc. supra verum.*

# I N D E X.

**Πόλις.** *πόλις*. populus, respublica.

**Πεδίω.** 55. 16. desiderio afficior.

**Ποιῶν.** 37. 12. facere carmina, Poetice scribere.

**Ποιῶν τὰν πόλιν.** 37. 8. *idem* quod *πολιτεύω*, præficere aliquem, imperium vel officium vel munus aliquod ei mandans vel delegans. *τίκνουν*. 10. 13. liberos procreo. *πλιυτὴν τῷ βίῳ*. 54. 14. *κίνδυνον*. 43. 11. infero periculum. *κίνδυνον*. 45. 14. suscipio, *vel potius* exhaurio periculum. *πρὸς πόλιν*. 54. 22. — 56. 18. — 56. 23. magni facio, æstimo.

**Ποικίλῳ.** 13. 7. variego, vafre vario.

**Πολιμαί.** 54. 9. concerto, belli discrimen adeo et sustineo — *πολιμαί*. 24. 4.

**Πολίς.** 59. 7. incolæ civitatis.

**Πολιτεύω.** 11. 14. rempublicam rego. *pro* *πολιτεύωμαι*, *secundum aliquos*, in republica verfor ejus legibus ac institutis vivens.

**Πολυαχίσι.** 23. 22. ad multa loca.

**Πολυαχρό.** 13. 15. multifariam, multimodum.

**Πολύς.** 24. 19. vehemens. 45. 8. *πολὸν ἔργον* difficile.

**Πολύτροπος.** 10. 4. varius, multimodus, multiplex.

**Πονηρός.** 57. 7. malus, instrenuus.

**Πορεύω.** 4. 20. excogito, comminiscor. *sive eadem signif. ac* *κατασκευάζω*, paro, apparo.

**Πόρῳ.** \* 10. *πορεύω* ὅτι οὐκ ὄντως, neutiquam vero ratio excogitata mortem fugiendi cuivis suppetit.

**Πρότιον.** 28. 1. molior, studiosè in aliquo perficiendo incumbo.

**Προσπίον.** 1. 12. suburbium.

**Πρόκειν.** 2. 3. anteco, præsto.

**Προθυμία.** 34. 20. cupio efficere. 12. 9. promptus sum, studeo, in animum induco.

**Προθύμως.** 3. 18. strenue, alacriter.

**Προκείμενον.** 5. 23. ante fatigor, ante debilitor.

**Προπύρῳ.** 41. 7. propositus. *ἡδὲ*. 12. 1. 2.

**Προμαίωμαι.** 20. 11. hortor, suadeo.

**Προνοίω.** 37. 7. provideo, consulo commodis alicujus.

**Προσέγω.** 16. 3. deduco, comitor, prosequor.

**Πρός.** 2. 20. præ.

**Προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει.** 8. 22. ut conveniebat civitati.

**Προσηκόντως.** 9. 16. pertineo; *μηδὲ* *προσηκόντως* alienus. *Προσηκόντως*. 1. 11. — *πρὸς* *vel* *πρὸς*. 55. 16. — 56. 24.

propinquus, affinis. *πρὸς* *προσηκόντως* *οφίσι* *αὐτοῖς*. 16. 1. debitus, consentaneus. *ἡ* *προσηκόντως* *μοῖρα*. 32. 6. Sors divinitus tributa et ad quemlibet pertinens.

*οἱ* *Πρόδοι* *ἡμῶν*. 24. 20. majores.

**Προσηκόντως πρὸς ἴδιον.** 4. 14. *i. e.* *ὁμιλίῳ* *αὐτῷ* *πρὸς* *ἴδιον*. in rebus privatis verfor, privatas res agito.

**Προπαίω.** 14. 2. illudo.

**Προπύρῳ.** 52. 5. *v. Not.*

**Προσθήμην.** 2. 12. addo, adjicio.

**Πρόσφιλος.** 35. 13. amans. *Πρόσφιλος*. 34. 2. gratiùs.

**Πρόσφορος.** 11. 9. aptus, conveniens.

**Πρότερον elliptice.** 40. 3.

**Προτίωμαι.** 1. 4. — 8. 7. in publico expono. ante oculos propono.

**Πρότιον.** 1. 4. triduo ante.

**Προφύω.** 21. 7. prætexo, *κατὰ* *loco* assero.

# I N D E X

Περὶ τὸν νόμον. 46. 8. rescisco, certior fio.  
 Πυρρίς. 18. 3. triticum.

## P.

Παθημία. 5. 20. defidia, segnitie.  
 Πῆμα. \*\*. *relatione habitā ad ῥῆ-  
 σιν, Laconica Mandata, ita dicta*  
 Lex.  
 Περὶ τὸν νόμον. 14. 23.

## Σ.

Σαῖον \* 3. parco servandi causā.  
 Σαμνότης 13. 20. majestas.  
 Σαμνότητος. 13. 16. grandior, ex-  
 cellior, cum quodam fastu.  
 Σαῖος. \*\*. 16. delubrum, sanum  
 heroibus sacrum.  
 Σαῖος. 15. 7. expendo, me-  
 ditor.  
 Σαῖος. 43. 10. diffideo. 53. 4.  
 contendo, certo. 26. 25. — 8.  
 22. — 54. 6. factionibus con-  
 tendo, seditiose diffideo.  
 Σαῖος. 1. 8. lectum suis oper-  
 culis superstratis, seu stragulis  
 tegere.  
 Σαῖος. 60. 18. tristis, tetricus.  
 τὸ Σαῖον. 61. 2. acerba illa vul-  
 tus severitas.  
 Σαῖος. 61. 23. consuetu-  
 dine alicujus (sc. diuturniore)  
 utor.  
 Σαῖος. 27. 14. agnosco.  
 Σαῖος. 15. 9. compono, con-  
 cinno.  
 Σαῖος. 48. 17. confero.  
 Σαῖος. 24. 9. committo pug-  
 nam, praelior.  
 Σαῖος. 27. 1. coalesco in  
 unum, conjungo me.  
 Σαῖος. 46. 22. congreco.  
 Σαῖος. 53. 13. pactum, conven-  
 tum.

Σαῖος. 9. 8. frustror conas-  
 mine, quum nimirum non prof-  
 perè succedit quod tentavimus.  
 Σαῖος. 34. 21. habitus. ὁ ἡ-  
 μῶν καὶ τῶν partes seu perso-  
 nam sumens.  
 Σαῖος. passim. servo, juvo quo mi-  
 nus quis pereat aut vincatur.

## T.

Τάξις. 49. 18. locus in acie.  
 Ταῦτα ταῦτα. 10. 17.  
 Ταῦτα. 12. 11. exequiæ. non ipse  
 actus sepeliendi sed, celebritas  
 exequialis; sicut γάμος. Mast.  
 22. 2. non ipsum matrimonium,  
 sed celebritas nuptialis, maxime,  
 convivium.  
 Τάξις. 1. 15. sepulchrum.  
 Ταχ' ἂν. 2. 20. — 20. 7. forsan,  
 fortassis. Ἀπὸ ταχίων. 44. 16.  
 brevi, celeriter.  
 Ταχίως. 30. 20. conjicio,  
 conjecturā adsequor, conjectu-  
 ram facio.  
 Τελείω τὸν βίον. 55. 13. — 57-  
 16. finio vitam. πλὴν τῶν. ab-  
 solutè. 59. 2.  
 Τίλος ἀνδρῶν. 34. 23. idem quod  
 τάγμα ordo, classis, agmen. vox  
 autem τίλος sine adjecione per-  
 tinet ad virilis ætatis significa-  
 tionem.  
 Τίλος. 12. 4. dignitas, princeps  
 locus, magistratus.  
 Τίμος. πρὸς τὴν χώραν. 24. 20.  
 vasto et populorū regionem se-  
 getibus arboribusque succifis.  
 Τίμος. 13. 24. tamdiu.  
 Τίμος. ὅτι de ætate minore. 12.  
 24. quum ejus sis adhuc ætatis,  
 adeo junior.  
 Τίμος. τὸν πόλεμον. 27. 3. — 29.  
 29. depono bellum, bello ab-  
 sisto.

# I N D E X.

- fisto. ὅπλα ἀς δέην. \* 1. armis concerto.
- Τιμωρίσμαι. 39. 18. persequor. ulciscor.
- Τί. 31. 23. *pro μίζα* ἢ aliquid non vulgare neque contemnendum. ἢ *ἄνα οἰομένην*. v. *Galat.* 6. 3.
- Τολμάω. 22. 13. — 43. 17. audeo. 54. 23. sustineo, tolero, 29. 8. — 50. 18. sustineo, audeo. 28. 17. audeo, committo ut. 26. 2. *in malam partem*, audeo facinus.
- Τλῆμι. \*\* 8. in animum induco, sustineo.
- Τοιχάρτοι. itaque.
- Τοτὶ μὲ — τοτὶ δὲ. 19. 4. — 47. 23. nunc quidem — nunc vero.
- Τρέψμαι. 53. 24. me converto, memet operā et consiliis applico ad — 49. 20. in fugam verto, fundo et fugo.
- Τροσκία. 29. 12. signa barbarorum in fugam verforum.
- Τρόπος. 60. 13. ingenium, indoles.
- Τροφῆον. 55. 14. educationis præmum, quod *pro nutritione et educatione* *alumnus suo nutritio* *rependit*.
- Τυχεῖναι ἄν. 22. 3. sum. *τυχεῖναι πνος*. *passim*. assequor, obtineo. 39. 20. impetro. 38. 23. in rem insperatam incurrere. 26. 11. *de eo* qui in rem malam eamque insperatam incurrat.
- Τύχη. 8. 20. fortuna bellica. 40. 8. eventus prosper. *passim*, casus, infortunium.
- Υ.
- Υβρίζων. 41. 8. injurius, contumeliosus, qui, nullā aliorum habitā ratione, quidvis sibi in quemvis licere putat. *Rom.* 1. 30.
- Υγίς. 29. 10. incorruptus, sincerus.
- Υμνῶ. 57. 20. celebroy.
- Υπάρχω. nascor sum. 42. 7. obtingo, i. e. fortuna mea tulit. 22. 8. initium rei do, autor sum.
- Υπεκθήσμαι. 46. 21. subductum periculo exporto *sc. nave exportatum in loco tuto expono*.
- ὃ ὑπερῶσαν (*sc. μίξθ*) 3. 1. quod superat (*sc. audientium captum*.)
- ὡς δ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς. 11. 1. per incomparabilem exuperantiam, virtutis. 2 *Cor.* 4. 7.
- Υπερφανία. 22. 5. superbia.
- Υπεροχάω. 57. 8. despicio, aspicio ultra ita ut negligam —
- Υπηρετίω. *proprie* subremigo. 25. 18. subministro, suppetias fero. *Act.* 24. 23. 42. 20. subservio, operam navo.
- Υποάδομαι. 17. 23. suppono, mihi quasi subdititium assumo.
- Υπόβριος. qui quasi in manibus est. instans. *ἰξ ὑποβολή*. 14. 3. subito.
- Υποδέχομαι. 17. 6. concipio.
- Υπολαμβάνω. 58. 24. existimo, animo præsumo, expecto.
- Υπόμνημα. 10. 9. monumentum, quod rei alicujus recordari facit.
- Υφίσταμαι. 45. 17. sustineo, obnitor.
- Φ.
- Φείδμαι. 24. 23. parco, do veniam, abstineo a cæde.
- Φέρειν ἔργον. 59. 19. vid. *Asen*.
- Φέρω βαρίως ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς. 57. 5. graviter, molestē fero.
- Φεύγω. 24. 13. exulo.
- Φθονῶ σοι πνός. 18. 8. invideo, seu, denego propter invidiam qua te persequor, parcā manu distribuo.

# I N D E X.

- distribuo. 54. 20. invido animo conor eripere.
- ὁ Φιλᾶ προσπίπτειν. 24. 5. affolet.
- Φιλαργλίω. 6. 2. elegantiae studeo.
- Φιλοεικία. 21. 1. pervicacia.
- Φιλονεικίης. 42. 1. contentionis plenus, qui magno et velut pertinaci studio contendit rem aliquam efficere.
- Φιλότης. 47. 6. amor, necessitudo.
- Φρονίω. 50. 9. μέγα. 56. 15. sum animo elato, memet effero, infolesco. πούτερον ἰφρόνων. 41. 14. tantam de se opinionem concipiebant, tantos spiritus gerebant.
- Φρόνημα. 20. 21. prudentia, magnanimitas. 9. 14. animi elatio, cogitatio, quae ab elato animo proficiscitur.
- ὁ Φυγάς. 59. 14. exul, in exilium pulsus.
- Φυλάττω. 46. 4. tueor, conservo.
- Φύσις. 50. 22. — 57. 6. natura. 22. 1. — 19. 17. — 29. 15. origo, ortus. 11. 6. — 38. 16, 24. sexus. 53. 7. — 58. 9. indoles, ingenium. 2. 22. ingenii captus. 57. 12. natura nostra, *scilicet* substantia nostra.
- Φύσις, φύσις πεφοιγμένη. 45. 13. quae naturae sunt constituta.
- Φύσις καλῶς. 42. 22. bene nascor,
- X.
- Χαλιπός. 60. 1. moribus asper, saevus.
- τὸ Χαλιπόν. 61. 3. illa morum durities.
- Χάρις. μετὰ χάριτον. 7. 3. cum elegantia, decoré. Χάρις ἀδύναμις τῆς σωτηρίας. 44. 1. gratiam habere. 6. 20. ὁ δρᾶσαι τὴν χάριν. qui beneficium contulit.
- Χαρίομαι. 21. 13. — 25. 10. subigo, subjugo.
- Χέρων. 11. 6. deterior, pejor.
- Χεῖρομαι — ὑποκαυεῖν. 32. 2. utendo absumo. νόμος. 1. 1. servo.
- Χερὶν ἐπὶ — 5. 11. tendo, obviam eo.
- Y.
- Υβρίσμαι τὴς ἐλπίδος. 45. 2. frustror spe. τῷ πλεῖδους ψευδίστικε. 46. 3. fallo. falsa opinione concepta de multitudine.
- Υἰλὸς λόγος. 20. 7. nudus sermo.
- Υυχί. 50. 18. — 51. 8. vivida vis animi. 53. 8. anima, vita.
- Ω.
- Ως. 26. 24. — 27. 2. quam maxime. 52. 20. admirationis interjectio quam! 59. 2. Atticè pro ὡς. ad.

# F I N I S.

**OBSERVATIONS**

**AND**

**NOTES**

**Upon the foregoing ORATIONS &c.**





# P R E F A C E.

**T**HE world is in a manner agreed about the usefulness of Classical Authors for forming a just taste both of sentiment and stile.—Perhaps the truth of this observation would strike young Gentlemen more sensibly, and raise in them a spirit of closer application to their studies, if the subject-matter treated of in those Authors was now and then brought home to and enforced upon their apprehensions. The occurrences in common life afford frequent occasions of doing this; and passages may from time to time be selected sufficient to illustrate by their similitude what every man both sees and feels: And if they are pertinent and well worked up, the shortness of them ought to be no objection; since thereby they will neither burden the pocket, nor overcharge the attention.

The three following Orations were spoken, or supposed to be spoken, at *Athens*, making part of a noble and useful solemnity, instituted in honour of those who lost their lives in the service of their Country. *Thucydides*, B. ii. has given a particular account of the solemnity, which I have therefore prefixed by way of Argument to the Whole.

The *first* Oration was spoken by *Pericles* at the time of his having the administration of the *Athenian* affairs under his direction, after the first campaign of a long and bloody war, wherein all *Greece* and its neighbouring States were engaged, under the *Athenians* on the one side and the *Lacedaemonians* on the other: It contains a Panegyrick upon the *Athenian* people and government: The character to which that of the *Athenians* is put in contrast is intended for the *Lacedaemonians*. As it is not to be dissembled that the Orator does now and then deviate a little from truth in his reflections in order to flatter his Countrymen, so neither is it to be wondered that a speaker in *Pericles's* circumstances, before a popular audience, should take this method to enflame their passions of hatred and contempt towards a dangerous rival in power and glory.

The *second* and *third* Orations are to the same purpose; they contain moreover a sketch of the *Athenian* History regularly deduced, till about fifty-two years before the death of *Philip* of *Macedon*; by whom the fatal stroke was given to the Liberties of *Greece*.——They have ever been reckoned among the more valuable remains of *Greek* Learning: And the maxims of good sense and publick spirit with which they abound must give pleasure to every judicious reader.

It was from this consideration that I thought it not unbecoming my employment as a Tutor, during the War 1746, to publish them with explanatory Notes, Historical and Critical. Hereby, as by a striking example, I thought I was pointing out the usefulness of *Classical* Studies, and convincing young people

people of the substantial advantages to be derived from thence. For surely if they aim at energy or propriety of Diction, elegance of Disposition, or justness of Sentiment, they should habitually inure themselves to the accuracy of verbal criticism in the exercise of close translation : Hereby they will insensibly transfuse into their own compositions the beauties of the Classics. It was by this kind of working upon the *Greek* models, that the *Roman* writers formed their taste. I have in my notes pointed out several instances, wherein *Sallust* and *Cicero*, &c. have copied not only the sentiments, but the very expressions of these orations.——But the young Student must not rest here : He must at the same time pay a proper, a much greater, attention to other Studies ; he must enrich his imagination, he must strengthen and correct his judgment, by the liberal sciences and modern histories. And using these means it will not be long before he may venture to enlarge his sight, and judge for himself, how far antient representations, whether historical or political, under a similitude of circumstances, may be adapted to the present times : Thence he will naturally proceed to draw forth into common use such precedents, as may be regarded with reverence, and followed with success : And in short, whenever there shall be a call for the exertion of great talents as speakers or actors, upon the scene of public transactions, such persons will exemplify in what they say and what they do, that rich vein of good sense and excellent observations with which Classical authors abound. And for their encouragement, we may appeal to many bright examples, in this and preceding ages, for the happy influence of these

studies in giving that superiority, both in debate and action, which persons thus educated have ever maintained.

But, prejudiced as I am in favour of the general plan and subject-matter of these Orations, I think proper to obviate some wrong impressions which may arise from them, and to hint at some advantages which We evidently enjoy beyond the celebrated Claflick times, whether *Grecian* or *Roman*.

Here then, a very just exception may be taken to the rough treatment, which *Pericles* is represented, towards the end of his Oration, as using towards the female part of his audience—a treatment not easy to be reconciled with that good sense, generosity, and politeness which the *Græck* historians represent to be leading parts in the character of *Pericles*. Be it that modesty and reserve \* were deemed so essential to a well-bred lady among the *Asbenians*, that she rarely could make her appearance with decency beyond the limits of her own apartment, yet, on this melancholy occasion, mothers, daughters, and sisters were called forth into public view as it were by solemn invitation, and therefore had the public security for being protected from insult.—And highly disrespectful, if not insulting, it was in the Orator by a dark and ambiguous admonition to reproach them for giving a vent to that tenderness of affection, for which the female heart is peculiarly turned, and which it should seem to have been one considerable part of his busi-

\* *Materfamilias*—in *Græcia*—nec in celebritate versatur—neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte adium, quæ *gynæconitis* appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.—*Coru. Nepos* in *Præf.*

ness to excite and encourage. Add to this, that, none being so deeply affected in the happiness of their future lives by that calamity which the Orator had undertaken to deplore, every humane disposition would be apt to pity and excuse, if not commend them, for being hurried into a transport of grief, however irksome others might find it to behold. Let it then be a sufficient censure of this passage to say, that *Pericles* was one of those statesmen, who had got above the feelings of domestic tenderness; a character that sufficiently accounts for many of those distressing calamities which befell the *Athenians* in the *Peloponnesian* war during his administration.

Again, we may justly wonder that the wise *Socrates* should be introduced as speaking with so much futility as we find towards the beginning of *Plato's* Oration. (For though the Oration be represented in the Dialogue as coming from *Aspasia's* mouth, either He or *Plato* are answerable for the sentiments there adopted.)—All we can say is this, that a popular audience having their local prejudices, the Orator condescended to flatter them in that particular, and spoke frivolously, in order that he might appear not quite out of character as an *Athenian*.

The same apology must be made, so far as any can, for his encouraging his countrymen in their ambition and oppressiveness, and in the inveteracy of their hatred towards *Barbarians*; whom they first stigmatized with an opprobrious name, and then, in virtue of it, thought themselves at liberty to use them cruelly.—A maxim, which, by their horrid enormities and merciless devastations in war, one would think some nominal Christians too had adopted, thereby

thereby *disgracing that holy name whereby they are called!*—What other judgment can we form of the barbarities exercised by the *Spaniards* in *America*—by Papists in general, whenever they have power sufficient, against Protestants?—What, of those scenes of military execution that were exhibited throughout *Germany* near a century and half ago—which were afterwards renewed by the *French* in the *Palatinate*?—and What of many horrible exactions practised in the late Wars throughout *Germany*? But, be our enemies who they will; nay, be their provocations ever so great, *British* good-nature, and much more *Christian* charity, must shudder at those dreadful evils which the most necessary war brings on both parties. To say nothing of the toils and difficulties to which even the victorious are exposed, Who can reflect upon the miserable deaths of such multitudes of human creatures, upon the innumerable distresses of innocent families, the afflictions of relations and friends, the inhumanities, and wickednesses of every kind, which are the common attendants of war, and not burn with an honest indignation against the authors of such calamities; who have no bowels, no conscience to remonstrate against offering so costly a sacrifice to the idols of their own resentment, ambition and avarice! —That the lives of mankind should be no more valued than the ammunition which is employed for their destruction,—that they should be considered as a part of it, is indeed a mortifying consideration, altogether irreconcilable with the supposition of a real dignity in human nature.—But for our comfort, both Reason and Christianity conspire to assert this dignity: and in proportion as the contrary principle

is

is maintained, we commonly see the character of military men debased with every profligacy of Morals, the most abandoned impurity, the most relentless cruelty.

Again, with regard to *Athenian* liberty—the charms of which are so much heightened, and the love of which is so pathetically inculcated throughout these Oration—have we not sometimes seen men hurried into such visionary notions of Liberty as may endanger it to destruction, dissolving that union between the several parts of our happy constitution, to which we owe our hopes of its future stability, and from which we derive our present happiness?—such happiness! that with all the burthens we complain of and lament, there is not a nation upon earth with which any reasonable man amongst us can be willing, on reflection, to change conditions; at least a little experience would soon convince him of the badness of such a choice.

In the history of *Athens*, and particularly of that war in which the Oration of *Pericles* was spoken, we see much national wealth and many private conveniences much abused by luxury and extravagance:—Great men hereby bringing themselves into difficulties, and endeavouring to relieve their personal distresses by involving their country in greater. All having the same part in the legislature, we see ingenious men often vaunting themselves in specious and pompous appearances of public spirit; and thereby procuring shelter for selfish projects, for corruption and treachery. While All aspired to a larger share in the direction of public affairs, we see them losing all equitable temper one towards another, fierce in their contentions, dishonouring



honouring worthy characters, and driving them from their stations; and thereby bringing to themselves perpetual discomfort within, while exposed to most alarming dangers, till at length they were brought to ruin from without.

Well therefore may we rejoice in that excellent combination\*, whereby the several parts of the *British* constitution are peculiarly adapted to answer the great purposes of men's submitting originally to government; namely, the securing our public independence from foreign invasions, and our personal rights from mutual encroachments. Far from repining at our dependency as Subjects (which is indeed no more than our being referred as members of society in a beautiful subordination to our head—as the several individuals to a common centre of union) well may we honour the memories of those Princes who ascertained our present happy establishment, and have since made it their glory, by a mild and just government, to secure to us the perpetuity of these invaluable blessings.

But further, when we smile, as smile we must, to see the wise *Socrates*, with an air of seriousness, reciting the legendary tales of *Athenian* superstition, let it not be the disdainful smile of profaneness, pronouncing “all religions to be the same.” It is the height of ignorance and folly, not to know and feel the difference; of dissimulation, not to acknowledge it. Nay, *Socrates* himself, upon another more serious

\* We may with pleasure review the picture of our civil establishment, in that draught which *Polybius* (B. 6.) hath struck out in theory as the perfection of human government.

occafion, is introduced \* lamenting the imperfection of that religion which he practifed ; at the fame time expreffing his expectations that God himfelf, by a particular revelation in future time, would fupply the defect. And it is our happinefs to enjoy that object of his wifhes,—a religious difpenfation, the moft rational and worthy of God, the moft humane and beneficial to mankind ; confirmed by a variety of the ftrongeft proofs ; full of purity in it's precepts, of awfulnefs in it's threatnings, and comfort in it's promifes ; thus directing and fupporting each perfon fe- parately, and at the fame time endearing the members of civil fociety to each other, by the union it enjoins of the fame worfhip, with the profeflion of the fame belief and the fame hopes.

Yet upon the whole, notwithstanding the above-mentioned exceptions, there are few *Britifh* readers but will take a pleafure in reviewing thefe monuments of *Athenian* patriotifm ; happy if they go on† to invigorate and refine their own, upon christian principles!

Influenced by thefe, they will, amongst other fruits of them, thank God, for having from time to time fupported our Sovereigns in the magnanimous refolution to vindicate the juft rights of their fubjects both Civil and Religious, under circumftances moft difcouraging and moft affecting to every humane and generous difpofition, and for having fo often bleffed thefe meafures with important fuccelfes.

To thofe likewise, who have been to us the providential instruments of this fecurity, will there be due

\* See *Plato's* fecond *Alcibiades*.

† Excellent helps for this purpofe may be received from the *Sermons preached in the courfe of the war 1741*, &c. by Arch-  
bifhop *Secker*.

a large tribute of thankfulness. Studious men especially, the more unable they feel themselves either to ward off the mischiefs of war, or to find support under them, the more hearty should they ever be to concur with their fellow-subjects in every proper act of gratitude towards military Commanders, of honour to their persons while living, and of reverence to their memories when dead.

Neither yet should the merit of inferior instruments, the common Soldiers and Seamen, pass unnoticed or unrewarded. Whatever compassionate regard can be shewn to them, in their season of toil and danger; whatever relief can be given, or comfort administered to their Wives and Children, these are duties incumbent on us from principles, I will not say merely of Christian charity, but of common justice.

The *British* legislature, by the largeness of it's stated provision, and by it's occasional bounties, to persons engaged in military service, hath given repeated testimony to the truth and importance of this sentiment.

If *Athens* shewed any true policy in the establishment of her *Prytaneum*; if *Rome*, in her many encouragements of valour and industry; particularly in making a judicious distribution of spoils taken from the enemy,—in assigning to emerit soldiers such portions of conquered countries as might at once afford to them the means of comfortable subsistence, and add security to her colonies,—in erecting monuments to the dead,—in votes of triumph and thanks to the living;—the same schemes of policy have been with equal wisdom, and more than equal generosity, adopted among ourselves. Princely fortunes have been raised, princely palaces have been built, sometimes by the express command and munificence of our legislature,  
—sometimes

—sometimes in virtue of that transfer which it hath solemnly made of those spoils, which by regular course of antient law and custom would have accrued to the public treasury;—Votes of thanks—a *most honourable fame*—have been decreed;—*Altars of virtue* have been erected to perpetuate the memory of eminently gallant commanders. And while the pompous edifices of *Chelsea* and *Greenwich* shall subsist, every Briton must reflect with pleasure that his Country is no less unrivalled in her care and gratitude towards her brave soldiers and seamen, than Foreigners, from frequent experience, have found reason to acknowledge them to be superior in the exertion of personal courage and activity.

Nor hath our Country, by any unmindful neglect, passed over the helpless Orphans and Widows of those to whom she owes her safety. The generosity and prudence of her appointments for the Widows of Officers, according to their several ranks, is well known. And the solemnity of her declaration, with respect to the lower classes, is worth attending to. 7 & 8 Will. c. 21. 1696.

*Whereas the strength and safety of his Majesty's realms and dominions do very much depend upon the furnishing and supplying his Majesty's royal navy with a competent number of able men for that service;—and whereas the seamen of this kingdom have for a long time distinguished themselves throughout the world by their industry and skilfulness in their employments, and by their courage and constancy manifested in engagements for the defence and honour of their native country: And whereas, for an encouragement to continue this their reputation, and to invite greater numbers of his Majesty's subjects to betake themselves to his service by sea, it is fit and reason-*

*able that some competent provision should be made, that seamen, who by age, wounds or other accidents, should become disabled for future service, and shall not be in a condition to maintain themselves comfortably, may not fall under hardships and miseries, but be supported at the public charge, and that the children of such disabled persons, and also the widows and children of such as shall happen to be slain, killed or drowned in his Majesty's service, may, in some reasonable manner, be provided for and educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themselves, Be it therefore enacted, that every disabled seaman (qualified as in the Act is described) shall upon (due) certificate be admitted and placed in the said hospital, and shall have provided and allowed unto him during his life at the charges of the said hospital, and out of the revenues thereof, according to the rules, &c. thereof, fitting and convenient lodging, meat, drink, cloathing, and other necessaries and conveniencies; and also the widows of such seamen, and also their children shall be received into the said hospital, and there be provided for, and the children shall be educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themselves; all which shall be done so far forth as the said hospital shall be capable to receive them, and as the revenues thereof will extend for the purposes aforesaid, &c. &c.*

Can any thing carry a stronger evidence of reason—a higher praise of benevolence than this declaration of our common Parent? And doth it not contain a virtual exhortation, that, in whatever degree the public provision shall be found incompetent to answer the whole purpose which She graciously intends, her children, one amongst another should supply the defect, as proper objects of their pity and beneficence shall occasionally be presented to their views?

That

That *British* hearts are so remarkably exuberant in acts of beneficence we may justly ascribe to the purity of that benevolent religion which we profess:—the influence of which will make itself felt even by those who are less speculatively attentive to the evidence and reasons upon which it is founded.—But as to prudential methods of exerting this beneficence most effectually for the public service, these are to be derived, at least they may admit of great improvement, from the study of those institutions, which, upon trial, have approved their excellence, and which, for this amongst other reasons, recommend the histories of civilized people to our regard.

After all, though the martial spirit is in some degree vital to our Country, yet it may sometimes rise too high; it may be overbearing and arrogant; it may hurry young men of sprightly genius prematurely into its tide of fury and violence. With regard to this latter case, all ingenuous persons will suffer their youthful warmth to be moderated by the advice of judicious friends;—both for their own sakes, and for that of the Publick: for their own, that they may be assisted by them in chusing the most likely methods to obtain what they aim at; and for the Publick, in order to prevent the mischiefs, whereby well-meaning persons of no experience sometimes frustrate the very end which they intend to promote. And considering how much the happiness of other people may be affected by men, whose circumstances of birth and fortune place them in a high degree of eminence, it is a matter of public consequence, that such should always improve the precious opportunity of taking time to discipline both their understandings  
and

and morals, before they \* enter into military life. This privilege is perhaps one of the most valuable belonging to an ample fortune; and, if lost in its proper season, is scarce afterwards to be regained. The loss indeed is ever felt severely both by themselves and by their Country. For their minds having been defrauded of proper culture, they become self-opinionated and vehement: they learn to despise many valuable accomplishments for which they have no relish, and even to disregard some parts of our national constitution, merely because they do not understand it; unhappily in the mean time mistaking their own ignorance for largeness of thinking, and the perverseness, which arises from thence, for spirit and resolution. Certain it is, that history affords illustrious examples of men whose courage and conduct in battle have not been a whit less distinguished for their having first completed a course of literary education, before they entered the camp as Soldiers. Among the *Greeks* and *Romans* we have the memorable instances of *Xenophon* and *Lucullus*; and in our own country, though modern names might be brought into view, I content myself with mentioning the accomplished *Sir Philip Sidney*, with the gallant and renowned *Sir Walter Raleigh*, referring for others to *Lord Clarendon's History of the Civil War*.

It is undoubtedly for the Soldiers' (I mean the Officers') own comfort to have his mind cultivated by Science: This it is which must prepare him for Ac-

\* Μέχρι μὲν ἥτης νεωτέρᾳ γυμνασίᾳ προσιεῖται. ὅταν δ' ἀπ' ἥτης ᾖ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι γίνωσται. τότε ἀεμύττει τὰς πόνοις καταλαμβάνειν πρὸς ἐχόμενῃ ἡλικίᾳ· ἅμα γὰρ τῆτι διασίᾳ καὶ τῷ σώματι διαποιεῖν ἔδει.

*Aristot. Pol. l. 8. c. 4.*

tion, and afterwards, in the intervals of ease, supply him with matter of rational employment: this alone can temper that ferocity, which, (however necessary to be sometimes assumed in the course of military operations) if not mollified by Science, too commonly degenerates into Brutishness: It is This, which must convince him of the reasonableness of that subordination, in which the constitution of our Country hath placed the Military departments beneath the Civil.

Highly fitting it is surely, that those should principally direct this dreadful engine of war, who regard as their first object the welfare and not the destruction of mankind;—that the same hand which deals out the protection of Law should alone be intrusted to deliver out commissions for killing and destroying, and to controul the course of military operations, saying, Hitherto shall they proceed and no further, Here shall their proud ravages be stayed.

And indeed, Tyrants excepted, what Soldier, capable of reasonable reflection, doth not shudder at the work of his own employment? What generous mind, after finishing the largest range of Conquest, can help lamenting over the ruins of military devastation, or wishing for that happy time which shall restore the Arts of Peace, annul the dictates of arbitrary Power, and give to civil Laws their benign energy? For it is under the influence of these, that every kind of rational enjoyment attains its security: here alone can be felt unfulfilled pleasures of sympathizing with friends and families in the delights of domestick tenderness and mild affection. Nor let it be forgotten, that from this connexion with Civil Polity the Military character borrows its highest dignity,



nity,\* of being truly beneficial to mankind,—a dignity, which is vainly fought for in the glitterings of equipage, the pride of pomp and pageantry and parade,—and is no less vainly assumed by the terrors of fierce looks, insulting menaces, and overbearing outrage. Lastly, it is from this connexion alone, that the Soldier hath principles to justify his Profession, and satisfy his doubts concerning the lawfulness of his Calling. For thus he may reason, “ Shocking  
 “ as my employment appears, and hard to reconcile to the feelings of Humanity, yet I see its  
 “ warranty to be the same with that of Civil Government. If Magistracy be the ordinance of God,  
 “ for the preservation of justice among fellow citizens, using the military arm, for repelling the injurious  
 “ treatment of foreign enemies, cannot be sinful. The  
 “ Sword, which is delivered to the Magistrate by  
 “ God for this double Purpose, I accept from Him as  
 “ his Assistant in those salutary works of public Good. Regulating my conduct therefore in all other respects  
 “ by Justice, Honesty and true Honour, I will keep  
 “ a Conscience void of offence towards God and towards Man : My heart shall not reproach me with  
 “ doing violence, unnecessary, to any person : I will  
 “ humbly submit myself in the day of battle to the  
 “ disposal of God’s Providence : He will cover my  
 “ head, or reward my being faithful unto death,  
 “ by a crown of life in reversion.”

\* Δήλον ὅτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείας κάλως μὲν δεῖται ἕχ' ὡς τίλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατος, ἀλλὰ ἰκίειν χάριν ταύτης. *Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2.* See more to the same purpose, c. 15. Indeed the moral, political, and critical works of this Author cannot be too much recommended.

While the military Profession continues thus generous in its principle and guarded in its exercise, it is not condemned by Religion. And Self-love must lead us to honour it, from considering the want which we may have of its services: For, when the faculty of doing mischief is improved into an Art, it becomes necessary to counteract it in its own way.

We read of times, when men, confiding in their prowess, sallied forth from domestick quiet, professing to combat difficulties, to redress all wrongs, and indeed to take up every quarrel that they met with. Injured innocence, thus assisted, often rewarded these adventurers with wealth and pre-eminence; whose supposed disinterestedness gave a lustre to their employment.

If we go up to the fabulous Ages of Greece, we find instances of this in the Heroism of *Hercules*, &c. and in grateful returns which were made to him, and, for his sake, to his Descendants. From the same principle it was that Knights of old derived their honour and Importance.—Not but that the soldier of fortune, Antient as well as Modern, often took upon himself to estimate the value of his services, insisted upon compensation, and enforced the sentence of his own pronouncing, by living, as the military phrase is, at discretion. And accordingly, as Justice hath not always the greatest ability to reward her advocates, and, as Tyrants, having the spoils of multitudes at command, are commonly the best paymasters, the Courts of *Persia* and *Ægypt* were the ports most frequented by the Grecian Traders in War.

From *Xenophon's History of the Expedition of Cyrus*, I have given exemplifications of this character; varied

according to the several tempers and natural dispositions of different men, the Rough, the Liberal, and the Selfish. *Clearchus* is the downright Soldier; his aims and fortunes are all turned to Fighting for the sake of Fighting; punctual himself in the observance of military Discipline, rigorous in his exactions, imperious in command. *Proxenus* is a just object of our love and esteem, a good-natured and accomplished Gentleman, in whom the vehemence of the Soldier is subdued and softened by the meditation of the Scholar. *Meno* we must detest as a meer Mercenary, devoid of the principles of common justice and humanity, rapacious upon every occurrence of advantage, and brutish in the habit of Self-indulgence.

Unwilling to swell this Collection too much, I have with some reluctance omitted the character of the younger *Cyrus*. In him may be seen the true portrait of irregular Ambition, ever attentive to advancement, regardless of the ties of affection or obligations of duty; artful in liberality and insinuating in address; active in projecting of schemes, laborious and intrepid in their execution. *Xenophon's* own character is delineated throughout the same pleasing unaffected Narrative: But the reader is left to collect it from a simple detail of those curious adventures in which He was concerned as principal Conductor; and which well deserve consideration from those who betake themselves to the Profession of Arms. For they exhibit an illustrious display of prudence and dexterity as well as courage, and above all of mildness, modesty, and benevolence; which latter virtues, in the event of that Expedition appear no less productive of Success and Glory, than the other military qualities,

qualities, more commonly to be met with, of boisterousness and arrogance.

Many of the reflexions which I have made in the former part of this Preface are applicable to the extracts from *Cicero*; and therefore need not be repeated.

It may be presumed that the young reader of the foregoing Orations will be desirous of forming to himself a plan of the general History and Constitution of *Greece*, and of *Athens* in particular: I have therefore drawn out, for his assistance, a Chronological Table of the *Grecian Affairs*; marking with asterisks those which are alluded to. And, that he may not, in the mean time, be quite lost with respect to the thread of the *Sacred* and *Roman* Histories, I have from each inserted some principal matters to point out the mutual coincidence of their respective affairs. In my Notes I have also endeavoured to throw light upon particular passages by large references to other writers. In order to render them more useful, it should be observed that the accounts of the first ages of the *Grecian* History are represented with a mixture of so much fable, as to be better suited for the extravagancies of Poets, than for the gravity of Historians.

*Apollodorus*, an *Athenian*, who flourished *ante Chr.* 138. has left three books of his *Bibliotheca*, which contain a general view of the fabulous traditions concerning the *Athenian* Gods and Heroes before the *Trojan* war.

*Herodotus* is the most antient of the *Greek*, and indeed of all Writers of profane History, now extant. He lived about 456 years before *Christ*. His History

is contained in nine Books, intituled by the names of the nine *Muses*. Besides a narrative of the wars of the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, he intermixes by way of digression, and that very largely, several curious accounts of Antiquities, both *Grecian*, *Affyrian*, and *Egyptian*. He says but little of the antient state of *Greece*, and that is to be found chiefly in B. 1. c. 56, &c. and B. 5, c. 58, &c. The parts of his History referred to in the Orations of *Plato* and *Lysias* are to be met with in the six last Books, viz. from *Darius's* expedition into *Scythia*, to the victory obtained over the *Persians* at *Mycale* by *Cimon*.

*Thucydides* was coteremporary with, but about twenty years younger than *Herodotus*. His History is comprized in eight Books. The beginning of his first Book, viz. c. 2—19, is a sort of Introduction to his History, with a sketch of the antient state of *Greece*; the remainder of it contains the several transactions which gave occasion to the *Peloponnesian* war; which continued between 27 and 28 years. The seven last books of *Thucydides* comprehend almost 21 years of that time, and end about 411 years before *Christ*.

*Xenophon's Grecian History* is contained in seven Books, and includes the space of almost 50 years, beginning where *Thucydides* left off, viz. in the latter end of the 21st year of the *Peloponnesian* war.—The facts referred to in the foregoing Orations are to be met with in the five first Books.

*Diodorus Siculus* lived in the time of *Augustus Caesar*. His History is a large and laborious collection of Facts: it is now imperfect. He wrote it in forty Books. The five first are still remaining, and contain

tain an account of the *Aegyptian, Assyrian, Libyan, Grecian* affairs before the *Trojan* war.—The 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. are wanting. From the 11th to the end of the 20th, the work is intire: It begins with the account of *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, and goes down to the year 354 before *Christ*.—The last 20 Books which carried the History on to the times of *Julius Caesar* are lost. The parts, which may serve to illustrate the Orations, are B. 4, 11, 12, 13, 14.

*Strabo* flourished in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius Caesar*, and throughout his *Geography* hath interspersed many historical Memoirs concerning *Greece*.

*Cornelius Nepos* may be consulted for his account of the several Commanders, who were principally concerned in the *Grecian* Affairs; and also *Plutarch*, who has preserved many rich and uncommon gleanings from Books of ancient History which are now lost:—particularly his Life of *Themistocles, Aristides, Pausanias, Cimon* and *Pericles*, may illustrate part of *Herodotus*, and the first Book of *Thucydides*; those of *Alcibiades, Chabrias, Thrasylbulus*, and *Nicias*, the other Books: with *Xenophon* may be read the lives of *Lysander, Agesilaus, Artaxerxes, Thrasylbulus, Chabrias*, and *Conon*.

Of *Modern Books*, which have given judicious draughts of the *Grecian* History, the principal are,

Sir *Walter Raleigh's* History of the World.

Archbishop *Ussher's* Annals.

Dr. *Edward Simpson's* Chronicon Catholicum.

Dr. *Howell's* General History.

Mr. *Hind* has carried the *Grecian* history down to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Mr. *Stanyan*—to the death of *Philip*.

Mr. *Rollin*—till the *Grecian* power was intirely sunk in that of the *Romans*.

Dr.

Dr. *Prideaux*, in his Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, was led to treat concerning the *Grecian* affairs, by the relation they bear to those of *Persia*.

*Universal History*, throughout.

The principal author who hath preserved the notices of *Grecian* Antiquities is *Pausanias*, by birth a *Cappadocian*, who died at *Rome*, as it is supposed, about the year of *Christ* 180. He was a great Traveller and was curious in collecting, all along as he went, accounts of persons, places and buildings.

*Jobannes Tzetzes*, who flourished at *Constantinople* about *A. D.* 1170. hath written a comment upon *Lycophron*, under the name of his brother *Isaac*; which is a curious repository of *Grecian* learning.

The same may be said of several of the other *Scholiasts*, particularly upon *Aristophanes*, and *Apollonius Rhodius*.—A large collection from which kind of writers may be seen in *Suidas's* Lexicon. See also *Eustathius's* Comment on *Homer* and *Dionysius*.

*Jobannes Meursius*, Professor of History at *Leyden*, died *A. D.* 1639. He was a large collector, out of different Authors, of such passages as relate to the *Grecian* History and Antiquities, which he has commonplaced under proper heads.

*Jac. Gronovius* hath collected and methodized a great number of detached pieces relative to this subject, in 13 volumes fol. *Ludg. Bat.* 1697.

See also *Ubbo Emmius* in his *Vetus Græcia*, &c.

*Car. Sigonius*, de *Repub. Atheniensium*.

*Sam. Petitus* de *Legibus Atticis*.

The marrow of these writers is judiciously exhibited in *Archæologia Græca*, by Archbishop *Potter*.

For

For an account of the *Athenian* Government may be consulted *Xenophon de Atheniensium repub.* *Aristoteles Polit.* L. 5. c. 3. *Plutarchus in Theseo & Solone.* Rollin B. 5. Art. 8. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 174, &c. — of the *Lacedæmonian* Government, *Xenophon de Lacedæmon. repub.* *Plutarchus in Lycurgo.* — in *Lacon. Instit.* *Cragius de Rep. Lacedæm.* Rollin B. 5. Art. 7. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 1. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 73, &c.

A full representation of *Roman* Antiquities may be seen in *Grævius's* noble Collection of Treatises relative to that subject in 12 vols. folio.—The general catalogue of which may be found at the end of the later Editions of *Dr. Kennet's* ingenious and accurate delineation of the Antiquities of *Rome*, 8vo.

Add *Sam. Pitisci Lexicon*, 2 vols. folio.

*Dr. Middleton's* Life of *Cicero*; from whence the Argument prefixed to the Notes on the Extracts from *Cicero* is borrowed.

The resolution of Grammatical difficulties in the Greek expressions will be further illustrated from

*Fr. Vigerus de Idiotismis Gr. Linguae.*

*Lambert. Bos de Ellipsis.*

*Devarius de particulis Gr. Ling.*

With respect to the *Chronological Table*, I leave it to Others to controvert the Dates of some particular Transactions; which are variously placed by different Chronologers. But I think proper to obviate a Doubt and Difficulty, which sometimes perplexes young Students. They are apt to wonder, that the sacred History of the Bible passes over in silence many transactions which are much celebrated by Classical Writers, and on the other hand, that in the Classics they see not a trace of those affairs which  
carry



carry great importance in Holy Scripture. They therefore should know that the Heathen compilers of general History are by no means silent in matters of Sacred History; though their narratives are very erroneous and imperfect; as may be seen in some parts of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Justin*.

But further, the very Dates of the principal transactions of the Old Testament shew that many of them were passed before the *Æra* of most Profane Histories begins. Add to this, that the Classical Histories are narratives of the transactions of particular nations; thus, *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* relate those of the Greeks; *Sallust*, *Livy*, &c. those of the Romans; and so, in the main, is the sacred History confined chiefly to the *Israelites*. But indeed those who are qualified for the search, will discover a surprising connexion between the Sacred History and the Profane; of which Dr. *Humph. Prideaux* has given many curious Instances.

Much more wonderful may it seem that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, separated by no great interval of distance, should know very little of those contemporary transactions, which, in their respective Regions, were greatly noised and celebrated. But it should be considered, that in former times there was no such regular intercourse of Intelligence between neighbouring countries as is now established; or, supposing the transactions not altogether unknown to each other, yet the Writers were not led to speak of them.

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EDW. BENTHAM.

# NOTES

## Upon the foregoing EPIGRAMS.

THE Epigrams are intended for a specimen of Greek Inscriptions in honour of military men. The first was inscribed upon the Tomb of those Athenians who were slain in the battle of *Chæronæa*. (See *Demosth. ἐπὶ Στιφ.*)

3. Μαράμφοι — δῖμος] sc. ἵνα. Διὰ τὸ, τὴν μὲν ἰδὼν ἀρετὴν ἀποφύλαξαι, δῖμος ἢ τοὺς παλαιούς ἱμποιῶσαι. Or, μὲν ἀρετῆς καὶ δῖμος, by an exertion of bravery attended with danger, as, *M. Æmilio potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio Sallust.*

10 Μοῖραν δ' οὐτε φουγῆν ἔπαυεν.] *There was a fatality in this disaster which no bravery or prudence could prevent.*

Mr Markland gives a conjectural emendation, thus,

Μαδὲν ἀμάρτυς ἐπὶ Θιῶν, καὶ πάντεσσι κτερόεν·

Εἰ βιασθὲν μάλιστα δ' οὐτε φουγῆν ἔπαυεν. (sc. οἱ Θιῶν.)

The second and third Epigrams were inscribed on Monuments erected, by order of the *Amphibolyones* or great Council of Greece, to those *Lacedæmonians* who fell at *Thermopylæ*. They are preserved (as is the fourth,) by *Herodotus* B. 7. In the third some copies read *ὦ ξῆν', ἐργάσαι* — or *ὦ ξῆν' ἀπαγγέλαι* — putting the Infinitive absolute for the Imperative (or rather *φημι* being understood.) *Diodorus Siculus* hath *ἀγχοῖσιν* for *αἰμαῖσιν*. He hath also *καταδύοντες* for *ἰμῶσι* *καταδύοντες*. And so the passage was read by *Cicero* as appears from his Version. *Tusc. Disp.* B. 1.

*Dic, Hospes, Spartæ, nos te hic vidisse jacentes,*

*Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.*

But there seems a peculiar propriety in *ἰμῶσι* as the Spartan edicts were termed *ἰμῶν*. The fourth and fifth were written by *Simonides*. *Diodorus Sic.* hath preserved the fifth, in B. 11. where he expatiates largely upon the celebrated Action which gave occasion to it. See Notes on *Elysus* p. 45. l. 22. and p. 10. l. 3. The Metrical disposition of the Greek is made according to *Fulvius Ursinus*. It may not be improper to subjoin a Latin version of it.

*His, qui ad Thermopylas cædebant,*

*Sors celebris contigit, pulcrumque*

*Fatum; Ara est tumulus*

*Proavos recordans; exitium vero*

*Eaus. Funerem sed hunc amicum*

*Nec situs, nec omnia edens*

*Potabit tempus, virorum fortium.*

*Hæc vero ædícula incolarum laudem*

*Gratiæ cepit. Testis horum Leonidas*

*Spartæ Rex, virtutis magnam*

*Famam relinquens perpetuamque docem.*

## NOTES

# N O T E S

## U P O N

### T H U C Y D I D E S.

#### B. II. §. 34.

THE Character given of *Thucydides* by *Cicero de Orat. B. 2. §. 56.* is this,  
*"Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio, mea sententia, facile vicit :  
 "qui ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope numerum  
 "sententiarum numero consequatur ; ita porro verbis aptus & pressus,  
 "ut nescias, utrum res oratione, an verba sententiis illustrentur.*

Tho' one cannot think of shewing the truth of this character of *Thucydides* from so small a specimen of his History as is here reprinted, yet it may be proper to apply the observations therein contain'd, if for no other reason than to apologize for some of the following notes.

I. The Reader must not mistake the *dicendi artificio*, which *Cicero* so justly admires in *Thucydides*, for Grammatical accuracy : for there is scarce any antient writer, who has more deviations from what we should apprehend to be regular Syntax, such as the many Elliptical, others Pleonastick expressions ; Transitions from one number to another ; Substitutions of one tense for another ; Actives for Passives, and Passives for Actives ; all which, tho' they are more or less to be met with in every *Attick* writer, certainly are anomalies, and (however called *Atticisms*\*) are not the *Atticisms* which we ought to admire and imitate ; tho' I confess that this set of Authors shew so much of their *artificium dicendi*, that any attempt to correct those irregularities by presenting a sentence in its true Grammatical order, would be apt to injure the beauty of the composition, and lower its spirit. — My intention therefore in marking out these deviations is not to insinuate that *Thucydides* ought to have written otherwise, but to serve the purpose of mere explanation.

\* See *Cicero*, de opt. gen. Orat.

II. If it be true, that this Author *verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequitur*, it will shew that in rendring his meaning into any other Language, there is almost a necessity to use many more words than what occur in the original.

III. If his *verba sententiis illustrentur*, it will apprise the Reader not to think of hurrying on thro' an Author that is so very much crowded with sentiment : He must exercise a good deal of thought about the subject-matter of which he is reading, in order to come at the full meaning of the expressions : which still adds to the difficulty of translating *Thucydides*, and shews why translations of him are apt to fall short of the sense, as well as spirit, of the original. This is particularly the case of some ambiguous expressions ; but this very ambiguity adds lustre to the composition, inasmuch as each of the senses, which the words are capable of bearing are manifestly to the purpose, and consequently might have been intended by the Writer.

I 1 Εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ χειμῶνι] *In the very same winter*, viz. that which followed the first campaign of the *Peloponnesian* war.

2 δημοσίᾳ] viz. *γνώμη*, in pursuance of a resolution taken by the *Publick*.

4 τὰ μὲν ἱστῆ] viz. the bones and ashes which remained after burning the bodies ; which was the general custom of the *Athenians* (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 207.) and appears from *Thucyd.* B. II. to have obtained at this time ; and indeed otherwise it is inconceivable how this solemnity could have been performed. The custom of burning the bodies of those who died in war, and of bringing home their bones is mention'd *Hom. Il.* η. v. 333.

ἀπὸς κατακείμεν αὐτὸς  
Τὸ βῶν λαοσὶν ἰδὼν, ὡς κ' ὅστις παύσειν ἔχουσιν  
Οἶκον ἄλλῃ, ὅταν αὐτὸ νόμισμα πύσσειναι γαίῃ.

ib. πρὸνδόντων] When persons died among their friends, who were ready at hand to perform their last offices, this order was inverted ; the corpse was first wash'd, anointed and properly bedeck'd, and last of all laid out and exposed to publick view. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 184.

ib. ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως. Sch.

5 ἐπιφύει] There was scarce any thing wherein the Antients in most nations, and particularly among the *Grecians*, were more solicitous than to give ample testimony of their respect to deceased persons by funeral solemnities ; and, previously thereunto, by the use of such Ceremonies, as anointing the corpse, adorning it with splendid cloaths, chaplets of flowers, ribbands, &c. and afterwards, when the corpse had been burnt, by washing the bones with wine. (*Archæol.* v. 2.

I  
sec. and p. 216 sec.) thus (*Thuc.* B. 3) the *Platœans* speaking of the honours by them annually paid to those who fell in the *Median* war, specify the particulars thus, *ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες ἰσὺν Μελίων ἐν πελάγεσσι ὡς τῇ ἐκαστοτέρῃ ἐπαλήμμενοι κατὰ ἄνους ἕκαστοι δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐδιδόμηντο καὶ κατὰ ἄλλους λαμπρῶς· οὐκ οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἀντιδίδε ἀνέσσει, πάλιν ἐπακέρως φέροντες* —

6 *omphos*] This word and *omphos* are words appropriated to funerals, to denote the carrying the corpse forth. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 189.)

Sp. *causapachylos*] made of Cypress; this being a wood of all others supposed least liable to decay.

7 *quæ.*] The number of Tribes at *Athens* at first was 4, at this time, 10. Afterwards under the *Macedonian* Government, 12. (*Archæol.* v. 1. p. 49 &c.)

ib. *ἡνὶ δὲ καὶ*] *καὶ* is redundant; inasmuch as there does not appear to have been any thing in the Coffers besides the bones.

8 *ispandjén*] with a carpet thrown over it.

9 is *anagany*] to have their bodies taken up, and brought home.

11 *aj* *αἰσχρονομία*] Solon wholly excluded all women under 60 years of age from bearing part in funeral solemnities; tho' Relations under that age seem to have been admitted. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 192.) Perhaps those women may be meant, whose profession it was to make publick lamentations at funerals, and on other sorrowful occasions, and who might be hired for that purpose. Such as were the *Præfixæ* among the Romans. — Allusions to this Custom occur likewise frequently in H. Scripture. *Jer.* 10. 17, 18. (& *Lamth* ad loc.) — 22. 18. — 48. 17. — *Ezek.* 28. 31. — *Amos* 5. 16. — 2 *Sam.* 1. 24. — 2 *Chron.* 35. 25. — *Eccles.* 12. 5. — *Matt.* 9. 23. comp. with *Mar.* 5. 28.

ib. *ἀναμνηστικῶν*.] The *ἀναμνηστικῶν* were properly songs sung at funeral processions, (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 205) so called from the ejaculations wherewith they were performed; and from thence the word may be used to comprehend the other most ordinary ways of expressing sorrow at funerals; of which see *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 195 *seq.*

12 *τὰς τῶν δμῶν σήματα*] Among the primitive *Grecians*, every family was wont to have their proper burying place: Their graves were nothing but caverns dug in the earth; but those of later ages were more curiously wrought: they were commonly paved with stone, had arches built over them, and were adorned with no less art and care than the houses of the living. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 219.) The *δμῶν σήματα* here mention'd does not seem to denote any particular monument that was called by that name, any further than as the

- I the *Cerameus*, a public suburb, was made use of for the purpose of burying such as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country; and in which place were several *δημίου σήματα* or monuments erected by the Publick to the honour of great men, as may be seen in *Mourfas's* piece intimated *Cerameus*.
- ib. *ακρόπολις*.] That part of *Athens*, which was called the *ἄκρον*, was really no other than the Citadel, at first call'd *Cecropia*, from its builder *Cecrops*, seated upon the top of a high rock about three furlongs in length and one half in breadth, in the midst of a large and pleasant plain. See Dr *Pocock's* Descr. of the East. V. 2. p. 160. Afterwards when the number of inhabitants was increased, the whole Plain was filled with buildings, which were called from their situation *ἰσθμίου πόλεως* so that the word *ακρόπολις* by no means carries so low an import as the word *suburb* commonly does in *English*.
- 13 *θνήσκουσιν τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ*] The word *θνήσκουσιν* is to be supplied from the word *θνήσκω*; and so in the next line *ταῖς ἐν Μαραθῶνι* — The expression is complete p. 2. l. 13.
- 15 *κλειστός*] viz. the persons who lived at that time. Members of a civil society considered in their collective capacity are spoken of as always the same; tho' the Individuals are different.
- ib. *αὐτῷ ὃ τὸ πῆμα* &c. so *Tellus* in consideration of his eminent courage, was buried in *Eleusis* upon the field of Battle where he fell. *Καὶ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποστείλονται ἄρματα αὐτῷ τῆμα ἔπειτα, ὃ ἐπὶ Μαραθῶνι.* Herodotus. L. 1. c. 30.
- 2 1 *ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς τὰς πόλεως*] The solemnity of a publick funeral was managed by a Committee of the Parents and Brethren and other Relations of the deceased, chosen by the publick assembly of the people for that purpose: and they regulated the Ceremonies, especially the entertainment afterwards. *Plato* places the election in the hands of the Senate of 500. p. 14. l. 13. They perhaps nominated, and the Commons only approved. See *Damascus de Consp.* §. 86. where he says, *ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ ἐκ ἐκαστοῦ ἀποσπασθεῖσα* (very likely *ὡς ἡ πόλις*.) which perhaps may reconcile *Thucydides* with *Plato*.
- 2 *πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις*] In *English*, *no fool*, i. e. a man of very good sense. Instances of this kind of *μᾶλλον* are frequent. So *Plat.* *ἐπιστολ.* p. 14. l. 15. *ἡ πόλις φουλάει, i. e. ἀγροῖ.*
- 4 *θάψαντες*] The word comprehends all the several previous acts as well as the principal one of interment.
- 3 *ὅλην τὴν πόλιν*] Throughout the whole course of this war, of which *Thucydides* was writing — From *Plato* p. 35. l. 5. it seems that the Ceremony of a publick commemoration was then become anniversary, whether there was any war or no. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 227.

- 2 5 ὅπῃτε συμφορῇ αὐτοῖς] viz. τὴν δυσχερεῖς, *when any accident or misfortune befell them.*
- 6 Περιμλής ὁ Πρωδικταπύ] For his Character see *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 7. 9 &c. *Stanyan* V. 1. 295, 2.
- 7 ἐπιπλεῖ καὶ εὐχαιρῶν ἐλάμδαν] viz. ὅρῃν. Some copies have it καὶ εὐχαιρῶν ἐλάμδαν, *he took the convenient time*: we find a similar expression *AE.* 24, 25. see parallel expressions cited by *Rapbael* from *Polybius*.
- 7 ὡς ἐπιπλεῖσιν] (viz. μίῃ) τῷ ὁμίλῳ, *that as many might bear as possible.* — If ἀκούστο was used in a passive signification it should have been ὑπὸ τῷ ὁμίλῳ.
- 12 τὸν ποσειδῶνα καὶ τὸν ἱέρην] *Who to the institution of other funeral solemnities added this of a publick oration.* Some refer it to *Solon*; which account suits better with the expression p. 3. l. 2. τοῖς πάλαι, than *Diodorus Siculus's* or *Dion. Halicarnassensis's*, who place the original of it no higher than the *Persean* war: much less will that expression allow us to suppose *Pericles* himself to have been the introducer thereof immediately after the reduction of *Samos*.
- ib. ὡς καλῶν] viz. ἀσώγῃς ὅν. (the Accusative absolute.) *as being an institution well contrived to do honour to the memories of such as are buried from the field of battle.*
- 14 ἔργῳ — οἷα] To make the construction compleat, τοῖα is to be supplied. N. B. the transition from the singular to the plural: the plural οἷα refers to the several particulars comprehended in the ἔργῳ or funeral solemnity. ἔργῳ and λόγῳ are in these Orations frequently opposed to each other even to a high degree of affectation. — See an instance of this opposed with great propriety, *2 Cor.* 10: 11.
- 16 δημοσίᾳ] viz. γνώμῃ; or rather παρορμητικῇ, implied in the participle παρορμητικῶς δύνανται.
- 17 οὗτοι καὶ χαῖροι ἀπὸ τοῦ πισυθῆναι] viz. τοῦ — πισυθ. *by being intrusted to the management of a single Orator, be it good or bad*: whereby the reputation of men who have given evidence of their bravery will certainly run some risque of being impaired.
- 18 χαλεποὶ γὰρ τὰ μετρίως ἀπὸν] *to observe the true μέτρον dicendi, which is Truth*; or, *to hit the true medium in speaking, and give general satisfaction.*
- ib. οὗ γὰρ] Some refer it to ἀκούστῃ, i. e. *before a person in whom*: I should rather refer it to the τὸ μετρίως ἀπὸν, viz. *in the doing which*; or else on a subject, wherein the appearance of Truth can scarce be confirmed.
- ib. οὗ γὰρ ἢ ὁ δόξας τῆς ἀληθείας μέλλει βεβαιῆται] *In doing which one can scarce answer or confirm the expectations with which the Hearers come prejudiced about the Truth.*

- 2 19 ξυναιδώς] viz. πρὸς ἀντιπάλους. The man who has been an eye-witness of their virtues, and in consequence thereof is become ἔνθους prejudiced in their favour.
- 20 ὥς αὖ βούλεται τι καὶ ἵπταται] In comparison of what he wishes to bear said and what he knows ought to be said upon the occasion.
- 21 ἄπειρος] The man of no experience in military matters, or, be that is quite a stranger to the affair.
- ib. ἔστιν αὖ] some things.
- ib. πλεονάζειν] Supply τομίσουσιν. Sch.
- 22 φύσιν] His own natural abilities.
- μίχεται γὰρ τῷδε] Sallust. Proem. B. C. Quæ sibi quisque facilia putat æquo animo accipit, supra ea, veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.
- 24 αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἰκανὸς εἶναι] Instead of ἕκαστος οἴηται ἑαυτὸν ἰκανόν εἶναι.
- 3 1 φθινουῦντες] N. the transition from the singular αὐτὸς to the plural.
- 3 τυχῶν] Assequi, to obtain, or rather to hit the mark, not to miss of or disappoint your βύλησις, that affectionate regard which You entertain of the persons deceased, in consequence of your δόξης, or the honourable opinion You have of their merit.
- See above, p. 2. l. 20. βύλεται καὶ ἵπταται.
- 7 ἐὰν τῷ τοιούτῳ] viz. καίρου or σπῆγγου or ἱππαιῶν.
- 8 ἢ γὰρ χάρις &c.] Cic. pro L. Flacco. Quæ vetustate eâ est, ut ipsa ex sese suos cives genuisse dicatur, et eorum eadem terra parens, altrix, patria dicatur.
- ib. ἀλλ' οἱ αὐτοὶ &c.] They have all along continued possessors. There is scarce any people but what have shewn their vanity in endeavouring to carry the original ancestors of their country as high as possible. The Athenians would needs be thought Αὐτόχθονες, sprung from the earth, and to have derived their origin from no other nation. And thus much must be said, that Attica, being a rocky and barren country, was less molested than the neighbouring regions, which by their fruitfulness afforded more temptation to invaders. The original plantation of those parts of Greece is with reason supposed to have been made by Javan, the fourth son of Japhet; and it is certain also that they received colonies afterwards from Egypt. See *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 2, 3 &c.
- 9 μίχεται τῷδε] viz. ἢ χάρις.
- 10 ἄξιον] Supply ἔστι.
- 11 ὥς οἷς] i. e. ὥς τύποις αὖ ἰδέξ.
- 12 οὐκ ἀπὸ πόνου may be referr'd either to κτησάμενοι, it cost them some pains to acquire it, — or to ἀποκαθίστασθαι, it cost them pains to secure it to us.
- 13 τὰ δὲ πάλιν αὐτῆς &c.] If the κτήσασθαι ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν was owing to their Forefathers, how can it be said τὰ δὲ πάλιν αὐτῆς



3

τῆς ἐποικίσεως? — The word ἀρχή may refer to the ancient Dominion of *Attica* itself: Or, the words πρὸ δὲ may be the Speaker's Oratorical correction of what he had just been saying. *Pericles* refers to the acquisitions which had been made during his administration by the reduction of *Eubœa* and *Samos*. See *Stanley* V. 1. p. 311, 316.

14 αὐτῶν τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἡλικίᾳ] Who are as yet of the stated age of military service. The *Athenians* at 18 years of age began their military service by being appointed to guard the city, with the forts belonging to it: but were not sent to foreign wars 'till 20: the *Lacedæmonians* seldom 'till 30: After 60 it seems to have been usual in most places to allow them liberty to retire from further service. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 6. At *Athens* the whole season for military duty was 42 years, reckoning from 18 to 60. See *Taylor* not. ad *Lyfiam* p. 125.

15 καὶ τῶν πόλεων &c.] The *Athenians* having done signal service to the common safety by repelling the attacks of the *Persians*, were now look'd upon as the most considerable State of *Greece*. And they did not fail to make advantage of this their reputation, by getting themselves invested with the power of providing for the common welfare, and for that purpose of levying tribute upon all their neighbours, and managing the publick treasure; which trust they discharged no less to their own than the publick advantage.

17 ἡ δὲ π — ἡμετέρας] For ἡμετέρας ἐποικίσεως.

18 Βαρέαρον ἡ Ἐλλήνων πόλιν ἐπίοντες] For πόλιν αὐτῆς Βαρέαρος ἡ Ἐλλήνων ἐπίοντες.

20 ἐπιτηδευοίς comprehends all that serves to render a man *επιτηδευοίς*: and inasmuch as education does in a more especial manner fit persons for their respective business, it comes to signify *Education*.

23 ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι] viz. χρόνῳ, or παρόντι, or ἐπαίνῳ.

25 εὐμφορον αὐτῇ ὅμιλῳ] For ὅμιλῳ — or, imagining it to be useful that the whole assembly should bear.

4

1 πολιτείᾳ] *Solon* in settling the Constitution of the *Athenian* government endeavour'd to poise one part of State against the other: so that what the meaner sort of people wanted in wealth and honour was sufficiently made up to them in their share of the Government. See *Stanley* V. 1. p. 181.

ib. ἡ ζήλιος] as that of *Lacedæmon* did; the laws whereof were borrowed from the *Cretans* and *Egyptians*. *Stan.* V. 1, 70, 72.

3 ὅμοιος] Supply κατὰ.

ib. 24 τὸ ἐς ὀλίγους οἰκῶν] Because we do not manage the affairs of state with a view to the advantage of a Few. οἰκῶν for διοικῶν, viz. πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. — The preposition ἐς determines the persons here spoken of to be the object of the administration of

- 4 of Government, and not the persons conducting it; in which latter case the *Greek* should have been ἀλλ' οὐ μὴ ἴσ' ἰδιῶτων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλειόνων οὐκ ἰδίῳ.
- 5 ἴδια ἀφ' ὧν] i. e. τὰ ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς ἰδιώταις, Sch. as to matters of private controversy. All Persons, without distinction of Quality, were capable of being appointed to sit in judgment, provided they were arrived to the age of 30 years, and had never been convicted of any notorious crime. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 108.
- 6 ἢ τῷ] For ὡς πρὸς, viz. ἀνάγκῃ.
- 7 οἷα δὲ μέγας] Τὴν λέξιν ἀλλ' τὸς Ηγεκλῆδους βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἀκχόνων, οἷα δὲ μέγας ἔχει, ἀλλ' οὐ μὴ τῷ ὠφελείᾳ, καὶ μὴ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἀριτεῖ. Sch. not from partial views of family, wealth &c. but, as he says above, as ἔχουσιν &c. However 'tis to be observed, that tho' by *Solon's* constitutions the poorer Citizens were invested with the management and controll of all affairs of State equally with men of fortune, yet according to them, no man was eligible into the Archonship, except he was possessed of such a considerable estate in land as would produce 500 *Medimnas* of Grain. Several struggles were made by the Commonalty to get the government entirely into their hands; and in *Aristides's* time it was thought expedient to render the poorer sort capable of appearing as Candidates for the highest offices and preferments. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 72. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 13.
- 9 οὐδ' — κακώτατος] The *Εκκλησία*, or publick Assembly for the management of state affairs, consisted of all such as were freemen of *Athens*, of what quality soever; wherein every man, except under the age of 30 or convicted of some heinous crime, had liberty to declare his sentiments concerning the state of the Common-wealth. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 91, 95, 96.
- 10 καὶ ἡ πρὸς &c.] And as to the view in which we consider, or, the construction which we put upon the ἐπιτηδεύματα, the behaviour and conduct of one another in ordinary affairs, such as happen πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς.
- 11 ἔχουσιν] For ἔχουσιν.
- ib. δ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔχουσιν τὸν —] The same with ἐπ' ἑαυτοῖς τῷ —
- ib. κατὰ ἑαυτοὺς] according to the bent of his own humour, be it ever so capricious.
- ib. οὐδ' ἀλγύνουσιν μὴ λυπηρῶς δὲ τῇ ὀψὲ ἀκρίβειαν ἀποδείκνυσιν] Nor using such severity of discipline, as tho' not intended by way of punishment is yet grievous to behold; Or, τῇ ὀψὲ may be referred to ἀποδείκνυσιν as the manner of giving uneasiness, by four looks, which tho' they have not the nature of a punishment, yet are very taxing and vexatious. The *Lacædæmonians* were famous for the severity with which they treated their Child-

4

ren: A specimen whereof may be given in the yearly custom which they had of whipping their Boys at the altar of *Diana Taurica*, which they would bear patiently 'till the blood ran; and sometimes their emulation carried them on 'till they dy'd on the spot: This was not done by way of punishment, but in order to inure them to undergo hardships and fatigues. The same purpose was intended to be served by their going barefoot, with their heads shaven, and by their fighting with one another: Add to this, that they were constantly under the inspection of some one to exercise immediate command over them. And in this kind of minority they seem to have lived 'til they were 30 years of age. *Stan-yan* V. 1. p. 79 &c.

14 τὰ ἴδια] Supply κατὰ.

15 τῶν τι ἀπὸ ἐκ ἀρχῇ ὄντων] of those persons at all times, who happen to be invested with authority. So Xenoph. K. II. Δ. ἵνα ἀδῶσι τὰ ἀπὸ καιρίων. ut cognoscerent quid tempore quolibet fieri oporteret. and again K. II. H. παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ ἐν βασιλείᾳ, regi qui quovis tempore rerum potitur.

19 τῶν πῶτον πλάγας &c.] The Athenians seem to have outdone all other people in the number of their Festivals; nor did the frequency of them abate any thing of the solemnity and charges at their observation. Most of them were celebrated at the publick expence. *Archæol.* v. 1. B. 2. c. 19, 20.

ib. τῇ γνώμῃ] upon deliberate principle — out of a principle of good policy.

20 θυσίας] Of the Græcian sacrifices, see *Archæol.* v. 1. B. 2. c. 4.

ib. διηποιοῖς] annual; or, throughout the year. The Scholiast has δι' ὅλου ἔτους θύουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἐκάστην πλὴν μίας ἡμέρας.

ib. νομίζοντες] the same as κατὰ τὰ πάσης νόμιμα ἢ μὲν ἀποκοῦντες. Sch.

21 οἱ καὶ ἡμέτεροι] Supply γινόμενοι.

22 ἀπληροῦς] banishes every vexatious uneasy thought.

ib. ἐκυστέχεται ὃ ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὴν πᾶντα.] The Athenians greatly improved their trade and navigation by means of their colonies and settlements upon all parts of the sea coast, as well throughout *Asia minor*, and the Islands of the *Ægean* Sea, as in *Thessaly*, *Macedon* and *Thrace*: The consequence whereof was the introduction of Luxury in all its shapes. — At *Lacedæmon*, *Lycurgus* took effectual care to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as might tend to effeminacy and excess, by prohibiting the use of gold and silver-money. See *Stan-yan* V. 1. p. 77:

4 εὐνοῖαν]

- 5 4 *ἐλαπίων*] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.  
 3 *οὐκ ἔστι* (viz. *χρῆνος*) *οὐκ*] *never* — *no instance can be produced*.  
 ib. *ἐξηλασίαι*] *Lycurgus's* institutions discouraged the intercourse of *Foreigners* among the *Lacedæmonians*, to prevent their introducing a corruption of manners, and breaking in upon the constitution of the Government. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 78.  
 ib. *μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος*] *the privilege of our Schools or Theater, any kind of instruction or spectacle*.  
 6 *ὃ μὴ κρυφθῇ*] For *ὃ μὴ κρυφθῇ*, or at least *μὴ κρυφθῇ* seems redundant; for *ὃ ἂν τις ἰδῶν* (*μὴ κρυφθῇ*) is sufficient.  
 7 *ταῖς περὶ οἴκους καὶ ἀπάταις*] The *Lacedæmonian* youth were carefully trained up at home to the politick part of war by being habituated to their Watches, Guards, Ambuscades, with other wiles and stratagems, to give them a notion of what they were afterwards to do in the field. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 80, 81, 84.  
 9 *ἐκπαινεῖν ἀσκήσας*] See p. 4. l. 13.  
 10 *τὸ ἀνδρῶν μετέχοντα*] *follow after fortitude, τὸ τοῖς ἀνδράσι σφίπτοι*. Sch. Or, it may be, *pass on to the state of manhood* the same as *τὸ ἀνδρῶν τέλος*, *Plat.* 34. l. 23. Or, *εὐθὺς νῆος ὄντες, in their youth undergo the service of men*.  
 11 *τεκμήριον δὲ*] more fully, *τεκμήριον δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ*, or, *τούτου ἂν εἴη τὸ ἐπὶ ἔργον*.  
 12 *κατὰ ἑκάστας*] *by separate parties and detachments*.  
 ib. *μὲν πάντων*] *with their whole united forces*.  
 13 *τῶν πέλαις*] viz. *ἀνθρώπων*.  
 15 *ἄθροια τῇ δυνάμει*] *any large and considerable body of our forces*.  
 17 *ὡς τῇ γῇ*] antithetical to *ὡς τῇ θαλάσσῃ* implied in the word *ναυπηγῶν*.  
 18 *ἐκπαινεῖν*] It was the constant practice of the *Athenians*, at first from necessity and afterwards from policy, to spread themselves in Colonies throughout the several coasts of *Thrace, Macedon, Thessaly, Peloponnesus, Asia Minor* and the *Isles* of the *Ægean Sea*: from which practice they derived immense advantages in commerce. Very early, *Strabo* L. 8. remarks, *ὅτι πολυαυδρῶσαι τὴν χώραν σφίπτοι τότε, ὥτι καὶ ἀστυκίας τῶν Ἴωνων ἔτελλον ἕως Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι*. This policy of the *Athenians* is particularly to be regarded to see the force of *Demosthenes's* reasoning against *Philip*.  
 19 *ὡς οὐ μίξασιν*] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.  
 20 *μικθίνεσσι*] Supply the word *φασὶν* or *λίγισιν*, which is implied in the word *ὠχῶσιν*; for the word *ὠχῶσιν* itself can not here be properly made use of.  
 21 *ὃ μὴ οὐκ ἀπὸ μαθήματος καὶ ἀπάτης &c.*] *If then we men of ease and pleasure (as the Lacedæmonians are pleased to call us) rather than habituated*

- 5 *bituated to toil and hard service, can readily face danger, not so much out of a servile compliance with penal laws —*  
 22 *περὶ γινώσκουσι ἡμῖν]* *we have however, notwithstanding our ignorance, so much spirit and industry remaining.*  
 23 *μὴ ἀσθενήσμεν]* *not to faint at the approach of future difficulties, Or, not to anticipate our future troubles by a course of previous hardships, so wearing out our strength and spirits before we encounter them.*  
 25 *μὴ ἀταλαστέρως]* *Regularly it should be ἀταλαστέρως.*  
 6 1 *ἡννομάζοντες]* *Supply φημι or περιγίγνεται.*  
 2 *φιλακαλῆμαι &c.]* *we have the art of appearing like Gentlemen of taste without extravagance, and as Scholars without effeminacy. Alluding to what is objected to the study of Philosophy, that it enervates the mind, and renders men unfit for active life. Socrates and Xenophon particularly distinguish'd themselves as Soldiers. Sisyran V. 2. p. 60, and 40. Rollin V. 3. p. 297, and 405.*  
 4 *ἢ λόγον κίμην]* *rather than for ostentation to make ourselves talked of.*  
 5 *αἰχρῶ]* *Supply νομίζομεν.*  
 7 *ὡς ἔργα]* *to Trades and Husbandry; for as the former were called ἔργαται, so the latter were Γωργοί. Archæol. v. 1. p. 50.*  
 8 *ὡς τι μὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντες &c.]* *All Freemen of Athens were expected to give their attendance at the publick Assemblies, and when they became remiss in it, the Magistrates used their utmost endeavours to compell them, shutting up all the Gates of the City excepting that thro' which they were to pass to the place of the Assembly; and sometimes they proceeded so far as to fine those that behaved negligently, and to reward those that came thither early. Archæol. v. 1. p. 94. This busy disposition continued to be their character in St Paul's time, Act. 17. 21. All the Athenians spent their time in nothing but hearing and telling some new thing.*  
 9 *ὡς ἀπράγμονα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων]* *This principle was carried so far among the Athenians, that in the case of seditions and civil wars it was highly penal in any man to keep neuter, and not to join with one or other of the contending parties; Archæol. v. 1. p. 182. See also Lett. Lyfiac. c. 11.*  
 ib. *καὶ αὐτοὶ]* *And We (not caring to trust to other people for the management of our publick affairs, We ourselves have all of us our full employment therein) ἡμεῖς κελίμεν, either we exert ourselves, as Speakers, in debating and examining, ἢ ἐδωμάμεθα ὡς καὶ ἀπράγμονα, or, as Hearers, in considering and forming a right apprehension of what we are to undertake.*

- 6 10. λόγος] The *Lacedæmonians* were as remarkable for their taciturnity and few words, as the *Athenians* were for their love of public harangues.
- 11 ἀλλὰ] Supply βλάπτον ἡγούμενη. — *Sallust. &c. de B. Jug.* At ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam Consules facti sunt, acta majorum et Græcorum militaris præcepta legere cœperint, homines præposterari. Nam gerere quàm fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est.
- 13 ὅτι πολλοὶ &c.] *Sall. de B. Jug.* Ac sane, quod difficillimum imprimis, et proelio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio: quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adferre plerumque solet.
- 14 δ] i. e. καθ' ὃ, in which particular.
- 17 ἀφ' οὗτος] i. e. ἀφ' οὗ τοῦ οὐκ ἐπινοήσαντος μηχανήσαντος.
- ib. καὶ ἀποστρέφεται] for ἀποστρίπτει.
- 18 καὶ πᾶσι ἐν ἀρετῇ] i. e.] καὶ αὐτῷ &c. as to the exercise of that, which particularly distinguishes the man of virtue, Beneficence.
- ib. οὐδ' ὁ δόξωντις τῷ &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* magisque dandis quàm accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. and again, *Cæsar* beneficiis ac munificentiâ magnus habebatur.
- 20 βεβαιώτατος } i. e. φίλος ἴσος.
- 21 ὅτι οὐδὲν] ἵνα οὐδὲν.
- ib. ἐκμολύνει] q. d. the edge of his generosity is taken off and blunted.
- 22 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν — ἀποδόντων] i. e. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἵσως ἀποδόντων.
- ib. οὐκ ἐν χάριτι] that it will not entitle him to thanks.
- 23 ἐμφέρους λογισμῷ] the computation of advantage.
- ib. τὸ ἐλπίσθαι τῷ πιστῷ] in confidence of their generosity whom we oblige.
- 7 1 ἐκαστὸν] viz. πάντας, to sum up all, bring all to a point.
- ib. τῷ πάσῃ πόλει] that our City taken in the whole.
- 2 καθ' ἑαυτὸν] each man in his single capacity.
- 3 παρ' ἡμῶν] viz. ὑπαρχόντων, γενέσθων, &c. men that go out from among us, viz. to the public Games of Greece.
- ib. ἐν πάσῃ ἀδῇ] viz. in the several kinds of bodily exercises, such as Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, Wrestling, Racing. *Solon* to encourage the *Athenians* in these feats of activity enacted an allowance of 100 Drachmas (3l 4s 7d) out of the public Treasury to every *Athenian*, who obtained a prize in the *Isthmian* Games, and 500 to such as were victors in the *Olympian*. Afterwards the latter of these had their maintenance in the *Prytanæum*. *Archeol.* v. 1. p. 441. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. art. 2. §. 10. Such rule of good Policy is prescribed *Xen.* K. Π. α. Ἀλλὰ μίντι τῷ μελιπλόδῳ ἔστιν ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ ἔργον, ἀγῶνας αὖ τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπαύειν ἐλάττωσι

- 7 πῆς καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπορίας, μέγιστον ἂν ποιεῖν εἴς ἀποκρίσθαι ἔχεται, ὅτε, ὅπως δίκαιοι, ἔχον ἂν παρεσκευασμένοις χρεῖσθαι.
- 5 εὐ τῇ παρῶν] viz. ἰπταίνω.
- 7 ἔ' οὖν] viz. οὕτως.
- ib. ἀπορίας κρείστων ἐς ποίαν ἔχεται] upon being brought to the trial or test is found to exceed the character which it bears.
- 8 ἀγωνιάκησιν ἔχῃ] i. e. παρῆχῃ, affords ground to an Enemy to conceive an indignation, ὅφ' οἷον, at the meanness of the persons by whom he suffers.
- 9 τῇ ὑποκειμένη κατὰμινον] ἔχῃ, i. e. παρῆχῃ, affords just reason to its Vassals to complain.
- 10 σημείων] may be interpreted proofs from fact. — μάρτυρες, are living witnesses, vouchers, &c.
- 12 ὅδιν ἀποδείξουσιν] for κατ' ὅδιν, i. e. ἐδαμῶς ἀποδείξουσιν.
13. οὗτοι Ομήρου ἰπταίνου] *Cic. pro Arch.* O Te felicem, qui Homerum virtutis tuæ præconem nactus es. The character which Homer gives of the Athenians II. B. 546 &c. is certainly an advantageous one. He there speaks of their City, as ἐν κτήματι — of their Country, as fruitful, the seat of the Goddess of Culture *Αἶσα*, ἣ καὶ ποίησεν τῆν — and of the People, in the person of the first Former of their state, as μεγαλήτορος — ὃν ποιεῖ Ἀθήνη θρήνη Διὸς θυγάτηρ. — and in that of their General *Menestheus*, as scarce to be paralleled for military skill. But in the course of the Poem, *Menestheus* and his followers the Athenians are seldom mentioned; while several other *Græcian* Leaders have separate Books assigned them for the display of their achievements. And this may be a probable reason, why the Athenian Orator here seems to undervalue all the encomiums that Homer's Pen could give.
- 14 ἔ' δὲ ἔργων ὑπερβολὴν ἢ ἀλλοτρίαν βλάβει] for ἡ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερβολὴ βλάβει τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν, the too high opinion which a Poet may raise of the achievements, will hurt or impair the credit of what was really achieved. Or else, the truth as it will appear upon examination, will destroy the high opinion which the Reader of such a Poem may have preconceived.
- 15 κατηννοχόσαντες] For κατηννοχόσασθαι, and so ξυνοχόσασθαι.
- 18 δικαιοσύνης μὴ ἀφαρεθῆναι αὐτῇ] i. e. ἡ δίκαιος νομιζομένη ἀφαρεθῆναι αὐτῇ, not thinking it right, that it should be deprived of those great advantages, which are just before mentioned, its δύναμις &c.
- 19 πάντων πᾶν] either each particular person of those who survive; or, that they who survive will be ready to undergo every thing that may happen.
- 23 ὁμοίως] For ὁμοίως; or rather supply παρῶν.
- 8 2 ἰσόμενος — ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων] The meaning seems to require ἰσόμενος τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, the facts will not be found upon

- 8 upon enquiry to be equal to the commendation which is given of them.
- ib. ἰσθρῶπος &c.] *Sall. B. Cat.* In primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primū quod facta dictis sint exæquanda.
- 3 δοκεῖ δὲ δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν] *seems to manifest the bravery of a man, i. e. a true manly bravery.*
- 5 ἢ νῦν τῶνδε καὶ θάνατον] not barely the death, but the whole course of that military service, in which they lost their lives, this ἀρετὴν τι μνηύουσι, as it first discovered the bravery of these men, καὶ τελευταία βεβαιόουσι, so it gave to it the seal of final confirmation.
- 6 πῶς τὰς χεῖρας] οἷον, κλοπῇ, μοιχείᾳ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Sch.
- 7 κηρὸν ἀφανίσουσιν] wiping out the stain or memory of their misconduct.
- 8 ἀφίλῃσιν] For ἀφιλόσῃσιν ἂν, they may do it more service; Or, in fact they have done their country more service.
- ib. ἰδίῳ] viz. ἀμφοτεμμάτων.
- 10 οὐτὶς πτωχὸς ἐλπίδι] nor was induced by the hopes of poverty, i. e. the hopes which poor men are apt to indulge, that by continuing to flee from poverty, they may at length surmount the difficulties of it and grow rich.
- 12 πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτῶν λαβόντις] considering the taking vengeance of their Enemies to be much more desirable than either those situations of life.
- 14 μὲν αὐτῶν] viz. τὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ κινδύνον.
- ib. τῶν δὲ] viz. τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸν φτωχὸν τὴν πτωχὴν ἐλπίδα, and make this their road to wealth.
- 15 ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἄβυσσος ἐπιστάμενοι] q. d. τὸ καὶ ἐλπίσειν ἢ πᾶσι, τῷ μὲν ἢ ἐλπίδι ἐπιστάμενοι, success they knew to be a thing uncertain; this therefore they committed to hope, or contented themselves with hoping the best.
- 16 οὐδὲ τὸ ὁρμῶν σφῶν αὐτοῖς] viz. the nature of their duty and the dangers attending it.
- 18 οὐδὲν] viz. ἑαυτοῖς.
- 19 δι' ἐλαχίστου &c.] ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ ἐκμάχῃσι ἐν εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ ἔχῃ διελθῆναι, οἱ ἀκμαζόντες ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ἐλπίδι τὴν νικῆσιν, μάλιστα ἢ γὰρ τὸν δίκην καὶ τὸν φτωχὸν (ἀκμαζόντων) ἀπηλάττειν τὴν σφοδρὰν διέσπασιν, i. e. ἀπὸ τῆς. Sch. in one moment of time, at the very turn and crisis of their fortune in battle they were released, rather from their apprehensions of hope than of fear, for whatever they had of the former, they had none at all of the latter.
- 23 ἀσφαλιστέον] viz. πῶς πάλιν.
- 9 6 ἀσθμυμύειν] It should regularly be ἀσθμυμύειν, for it is a continuation of the reflection σκεπτικῶς, i. e. and θεωρητικῶς, l. 4. the words ὅταν ὁμῶς μεγάλη δόξα ᾖται are only parenthetical;



9

tical; yet the dative *ἐν αὐτῇ* therein influences the succeeding participle.

ib. *ἐν ταλμύνοις &c.*] *Sall. B. Cat.* Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere — demi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque libidini obnoxius.

9 *ἐξῆντες*] For *ἐξῆντες*, and so *μεσιζόμενοι*, for *μεσιζοῦντες*.

ib. *κρίστην ἔργον*] *the noblest contribution that could be made, viz.* that of their own persons. so *Xenoph. K. H. ζ.*

*ἐς τίνος παρ' αὐτῶν καλλίστος ἔργου ἀνάλυσις παρασκευασμένη, ἢ ἐς τοῦδε; οὐν γὰρ ἐξῆν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι χρονοδίοις πολλὰ κριζομένη ἀλλήλοις ἀπενεγκῆν.*

15 *σηλῶν*] It was common to beautify sepulchres with pillars of stone, which frequently contained Inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever else was remarkable in the Deceased. *Archæol. v. 2. p. 221.*

16 *ὅ ἐν τῇ μὴ πατρίδι*] viz. *χώρα, a country which does not belong to them; it being reckon'd a great misfortune die, or at least to be buried in a foreign country.*

17 *εἰς ἔργον*] *any work, any such funeral solemnity as we are now performing* (as the word is used p. 2. l. 24. and also by *Plato* and *Lyfias*) or, *any sepulchre erected with much labour.*

19 *μὴ ἀπορῶν*] *do not overlook, not think yourselves unconcern'd in.*

20 *ἐς ἑλπίς αὐτῶν &c.*] *Sall. B. Cat.* quibus — neque spes bona ulla.

21 *ἡ ἀντιθέσις μὲν αὐτῶν*] *the contrary change, viz. from happiness to misery, from honour to disgrace.*

ib. *ἐν αὐτῇ* — *μεγάλη πρὸς ἀλλήλους*] *in whom the difference is truly great.*

23 *ἀνδρῶν καὶ φρονήσεως ἔργον*] *a man of spirit.*

24 *ἡ ἐν τῇ μὲν τῷ μεγαλειότητι κακότητι*] Q. whether it might not rather be written *ἡ ἐν τῇ μὲν* &c. (as p. 6. l. 1.) the suffering a diminution in any respect, especially if the doing so be attended with or occasioned by cowardice and effeminacy.

ib. *ὅ μὲν ἰσχυρῶς* — *δύναμις*] *death occasioned by the vigorous exertion of our strength and courage, or, surviving while we are in vigour.*

10 *μὲν αὐτῶν ἐλπίς*] *the common hopes either of coming in for a share of the solemnity of an honourable interment in their own country, together with their comrades who fell with them, (to which purpose the expression seems used by Lyfias p. 40. l. 5.) or the common hopes of having served their country.*

ib. *ἀπὸς σφραγίδος ἀντιθέσεως*] q. d. *as ἀπὸς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γλῶσσῃ αὐτῶν ἀντιθέσεως.*

4 ἐπίστανται τσαφίτης] q. d. ἐπίστανται ἰαυτὲς τσαφίτης, *they know that by the course of (their breeding up and therefore of) human life, they are subject to a variety of misfortunes.*

ib. τὸ εὐτυχές, οἱ ἂν εὐπραγίας χάριον &c.] more distinctly thus, τὸ δ' εὐτυχίας ἐπίστανται αὐτῶν εἶναι, οἱ ἂν εὐπραγίας πρὸς χάριον, ὡς οἱ οἱδὲ μὲν τὴν εὐπραγίας ἐλαχρὶ πλείους, (ὁμῶς δὲ εὐπραγίας λύπη ἐλάχρῃ, parenthetically.)

6 ὅς ἐστιν οἷς &c.] *and whose happiness and life have been made commensurate to each other, they being no less happy in the circumstance of their deaths than in their lives.*

7 πᾶσι] viz. ὁμῶς μὴ ἀναιμῶς πᾶσι.

9 ὁ λύπη] i. e. ὁ οἱδ' ὅτι λύπη ἐστίν.

13 ὅσων ἦντων] of those who are now no more.

14 ὅς τῃ πολλῇ δόξῃ] viz. οἱ ἐπιχειρήματα λέγει ἔσονται.

15 ὅς γὰρ αἰνῶσι τοῖν τε &c.] Agreeably hereunto it was one necessary qualification for being elected into the office whether of *Στρατηγός* or *Ἐπὶ τοῖς* (*General in the Army or Manager of publick debates,*) that a man had children born in lawful marriage; they being look'd upon as the best security for their Parents good behaviour. *Dinarch. Orat. contra Demosth.*

16 εἰς τὴν μέσῃ] viz. μέσῃ, or τῇ.

17 αἰσῶς ὅ] because there were many chances against their ever arriving at old age.

18 ἡγάδα δὲ τοῖν τε &c.] *Cic. de Senect.* Me ipse consolabar, existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. *and again, de Amicit.* Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo (*Scipione*) occidisset, desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem: sed nec illa extincta sunt, stanturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea: et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen afferret mihi ætas ipsa solatium: diutius enim jam in hoc desiderio esse non possum.

19 τὸ φιλότιμον] referring to the *love of honour* implied in τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ περιέχοντι, q. d. for if you cherish in your minds this love of honour, as you must do, if you reflect with pleasure upon your Children's glory, this will secure you against the inconveniences of old age.

20 ἐν δόξῃ καὶ ἐλπίδι] viz. μέσῃ, q. d. and indeed there is no comparison between the pleasure arising to the mind during that season of life, in which age disqualifies men from being further serviceable in the world, I say there is no comparison between the pleasure arising from the love of honour, and that arising from the gratification of avarice, that common infirmity of old people.

23 ἔῃ μίαν τ' αἰῶνα] viz. ἀληθυσμένον.

24 καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς] supposing you had an extraordinary degree of virtue.

I I <sup>1</sup> φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀντίπαλοις] for so long as men live they never fail regarding any Rival of theirs with envy.

3 Εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ καὶ γυναικείας τὴν ἀρετῆς, ὅσην καὶ εἰς χρεῖα ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι] more fully thus, εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ καὶ μνησθῆναι τὴν ἀρετῆς τῆς ἀφροσύνης πάντας γυναικῶν, ὅσην καὶ εἰς χρεῖα ἔσονται. The Scholiast has τῆς ἀφροσύνης· μὴν γὰρ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ τοῖς γυναικῶν ἔστιν. ἢ γὰρ ἀνδρείω, ἢ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἢ φρόνησις. — and agreeably hereunto Fr. Portus, *mulierum rectum institutum est domi se continere, pudice & honeste vitam agere &c.* But Q. whether the γυναικεία ἀρετὴ is not rather their natural proneness to the softer passion of pity and concern, which certainly argues a virtuous disposition, tho' it may be indulged too far: Such extravagant indulgence he cautions them against, by telling them τὴν ὑπερχύσεως φύσεως μὴ χεῖροσι γίγνεται, that their not behaving on this occasion unworthy of their noble descent, their being Athenians by birth, (as the word φύσις intimates in Plato's Epitaph. p. 16. l. 17) would be much for their glory, καὶ οἷς (or as some copies read it ἡς) and especially as this was a particular in which the other sex had little opportunity to signalize themselves, whether to their credit or discredit. —

Plutarch, in his treatise *Γυναικῶν Αἰτιολογία*, refers to this passage: but, citing it I suppose by memory, misrepresents it, as if *Thucydides* was here describing the most excellent Woman to be her, ἡς αὖ ἐλάττω ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις φύσις πλεονεξίας. — Xenoph. K. II. 5. hath a similar expression. Αἰδομένης — ἐφάνη μὲν καὶ πλεονεξίας καὶ ἐλαττωμένους, ὅτι καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπερχύσεως quippe qui liberalis esset etiam a natura

10 αὐτῶν τὰς παῖδας &c.] The Children of such as sacrificed their lives for the glory and preservation of the Athenian commonwealth were carefully educated at the publick charge, μέχρις ἡέως, 'till the age of eighteen years, when they commenced Εφηβοί. (*Archæol.* v. i. p. 48.) Two years after they were introduced at a publick meeting of the Δημότιοι (men of the same borough) and enter'd in a register called λεξιπαιχτήν χρηματιστήν, containing the names of all persons of that borough who were of age to succeed to the λῆξις, or inheritance of their Fathers. At this time they were presented with a compleat suit of armour, and brought forth before the people, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them, that hitherto in remembrance of their Fathers merits the Commonwealth had educated these young men, but now dismissed them so armed, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers examples; and for their further encouragement they had the honour of the first seats

at

II at shews, and all publick meetings. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 116, 346.

10 τὸ δὲ τῶν τῶν] viz. τὸ χεῖρον.

ib. δημοσίᾳ] viz. τῇ, implied in the verb ἡνέχθη.

11 τιφάνων] Alluding to the Crowns usually bestow'd upon the victors in the *Olympick* Games; to which this glorious contest, who should deserve best of his Country, was analogous.

12 ἀντιθέμεν] *holding forth or setting before them*, by way of encouragement and incitement.

## N O T E S

### U P O N

### P L A T O and L Y S I A S.

TO commemorate the virtues of brave men is an employment no less worthy of the greatest Genius, than it is interesting to every Lover of his Country. To have this task assign'd him by publick Authority must be doubly pleasing a Man of Parts. But without expecting the honour of such a call, a man may naturally enough be led to exercise his thoughts upon the subject, whether out of emulation of other men's performances, or from the desire of doing justice to such valuable characters, as he thinks have not been successfully attempted by others.

To one or other or both of these principles we owe the funeral Oration of *Plato*, and those of *Isocrates* intitled Πανηγυρίαις and Παναθηναϊαίς: the former of which is said to have cost him the labour of 10 or 15 years. Whether *Lyfias's* was ever spoken in publick or no, is uncertain; 'tis probable it was not, at least by himself; for he did not enjoy the full rights of common Citizen at *Athens*, and wanted the ἀξίωμα, mention'd by *Thucydides*, p. 2. l. 2. be a necessary qualification for that honourable office: He therefore most probably compos'd it, either for the use of his Scholars, or for his own amusement, as a model for Orations of this kind; and in fact, *Isocrates* thought it worth his while to pursue the same plan even to a servile exactness. And to me there seems some ground to imagine that *Plato* in composing His funeral Oration, had a particular view to those performances of *Lyfias* and *Isocrates*.

*Pericles* had exhausted what was to be said in praise of the *Athenian* people, and the constitution of their Government. *Lyfias* therefore enters upon their History, a subject which was not so much

much as glanced at by *Pericles*. *Plato* seems to have approv'd of the plan, but to have thought that it might be pursued to greater advantage, especially by introducing a more particular detail of publick transactions: This he does with great conciseness and clearness; there being above double the number of principal facts refer'd to in *Plato's Oration* beyond what occur in that of *Lyfias*. (Tho' here we must observe an oversight in *Plato*, that he makes *Socrates* in this funeral oration refer to some facts, which 'tis generally agreed happen'd after his death: This is usually plac'd in the year before *Cbrist* 399, whereas the peace of *Antalcidas*, evidently refer'd to, was not concluded 'till 13 years after.)

Several passages in the proeme plainly intimate that *Plato* had some or more Rhetoricians of his own time in view, p. 13. he ridicules their conceit of their own abilities, and the false kinds of eloquence into which they were betray'd, — the airs they gave themselves in putting off as extemporal harangues what had cost them great pains and premeditation to compose, p. 14. l. 6. — their vanity in keeping their rules of composition, and the copies they gave their scholars as mighty secrets, p. 15. l. 13. and p. 36. l. 5.

2. And as to this particular oration, what *Lyfias* says by way of Apology for the imperfection of his performance, his being obliged *ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡμῶν ἀλγῶν*, p. 36. l. 4. is rallied by *Plato's* *ἀπὸν ἐκείνου τῶν αἰσῶν περιστολινομένων*.

3. *Plato*, p. 15. l. 21. intimates that an oration of this kind should begin from the point, viz. treating of the deceased themselves, and not, as *Lyfias* does, with an Apology for the speaker.

4. The *ἡμῶν αἰσῶν περιστολινομένων*, which *Plato* rallies, p. 13. is justly enough applicable to *Lyfias's* introducing antithetical expressions to a high degree of affectation.

5. What *Plato* says of the impropriety of condoling with the friends of the deceased, the *ἡμετέρας*, is a direct censure of what *Lyfias* much enlarges upon, p. 55. *ἄλλοι τῶν αἰσῶν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐν οἷς αὐτὰς ἀποφίμεται, καὶ τὸν ἀσπασμόν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδι καὶ ἐπιβολῇ βλῶ.*

To which may be added another circumstance, that *Plato* in another of his pieces (*Pbædrus*) has a direct criticism or banter upon another oration of *Lyfias*.

It must be confess'd after all, that there is not any oration of *Lyfias* that seems less subject to exception than this Funeral one: And if we admit the justice of \* *Cicero's* character of him, he cannot fail of engaging our attention, being a most consummate master of Oratory, equally fitted to do justice to subjects of every

\* *Lyfias* Disertissimus, *Cic. de Orat.* l. 1. r. 118. Egregie subtilis atque elegans. — Orator prope perfectus, pressus, enucleatus, limatus, grandis, incitatus, ornatus, elatus, gravis tam verbis quam sententiis, *Brut.* 17. Acutus facetus brevis. *ib.* 31. Venuissimus atque politissimus; nihil habet insolens aut ineptum. *Orat.* 15.

kind; the finest speaker, exquisitely delicate and elegant both in his expression and sentiments, close, perspicuous, polite, spirited, pompous, lofty, pointed, concise, full of humour or grave, as his subject requires.

*Plato* likewise is by *Cicero* no less recommended to our esteem. At the same time those, who are us'd to those high finish'd pieces, which *Cicero* has prefix'd to some of his Dialogues by way of Proemes, may perhaps be disgusted at that very great plainness and simplicity with which the Dialogue-part is here conducted; they may also censure that frivolous kind of reasoning which he falls into p.17. (tho' indeed all that could be offer'd in support of his Countrymen's favourite notion of being *αὐτίχθους* must be frivolous.) — But whatever justice there may be in any of these strictures, both orations are well worthy the perusal, particularly that *Προσόποια* of *Plato*, p. 30. than which nothing can contain better sense, or be work'd up more oratorically.

I have only to add, that I have placed *Plato's* oration *second* in Order, altho' I suppose it to have been compos'd after *Lyfias's*; because he intimates, that it was a sort of supplement to *Pericles's* oration, p. 15. l. 7.

- 1 <sup>2</sup> Μοῖσεν] *Socrates* had a son by his wife *Myrton* of this name, *Diog. Laert.* l. 2. 26. and *Suid.* — From the air of the Dialogue, and p. 12. l. 7. it can scarce be his son who is introduced as speaking. I may here observe, that the Writers usually consulted upon such names as are here incidentally (*Ἀρχὴν* and *Δίον* p. 14. *Κόινος*, and *Λαμπρός* and *Ἀνφών*) namely *Diogenes Laertius* and *Suidas*, afford no satisfactory account of either, more than what may be collected from the manner in which their names are here mention'd: excepting indeed as to *Ἀνφών*, who is generally celebrated as a man of distinguish'd eminence for his skill in oratory, contrary to what is intimated p. 14.
- ib. *Ἀγορῆς*] viz. the old Forum within the city, in which were frequently held the publick Assemblies of the people; though the chief design of it was for the purpose of buying and selling. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37.
- ib. *τῆς ἀγορῆς*] viz. *ἑχμ.*
- 3 *Βουλῆτης*] In the old Forum there were several *Βουλευτήρια*, or publick Halls, where each Company of tradesmen met and consulted about their affairs. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37. — The *Βουλευτήριον* here mention'd is the *Senate-House*, where the Senate of 500 met to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the general assembly of the people, and to transact several things by their own authority. See *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 97 &c. By *Menexenus's* being there it appears

- I 2 pears that the transactions and debates of that council were not kept private; for he was not yet *ὁ ἀρχῇ*.  
 3 *πὶ μέλει σου*] viz. *Ἀπολύθης ἀφ' ἑκὸς βουλ.* what could induce you of all people in the world to —  
 4 *ἐπὶ τῇ — ἀνῇ*] to have arrived at the last and bigbest stage of —  
 10 *ἡ βουλὴ*] See *Thucyd.* p. 2. l. 1.  
 11 *ἄλλος*] some body or other to speak.  
 13 *ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν*] viz. *ἡμίαν.* this Senate met for the most part every day. *Archæol.* v. I. p. 99.  
 15 *πολλὰ καὶ κινδυνώδη καλὸν*] sure it must be a glorious and desirable thing *καὶ πολλὰς ῥέουσας* in many respects to —  
 I 3 5 *παρεσκευασμένων*] used in the active sense; or else men who are prepared (*καὶ*) λόγους.  
 6 *ἡφιέμενοι πρὸς ἐνίομοι ποικίλονται*] diversifying and thereby embellishing their panegyrick with fine words.  
 12 *ἐκάστοτε*] upon every such occasion —  
 13 *ὅτι τὸ παρὰ ἑαυτοῦ*] viz. *χρὸν.*  
 14 *καὶ οἷα ἔστι πολλὰ, αἷα*] Q. whether αἷα is not a gloss for οἷα τὰ πολλὰ: or thus, *καὶ καὶ πάντες τὰ πρᾶγμα, ὡς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ, αἷα*, and I have always upon this occasion, as I have upon many others, strangers in my company. see p. 18. l. 24.  
 19 *αὐτὴν ἡ σπουδὴν*] this high sense of my own importance and dignity —  
 20 *ὥτως ἔνθαλος*] so musical and so enchanting, — or continues so to tingle in my ears.  
 23 *τίως*] during that interval.  
 I 4 2 *ἐξ ὑπογῆς*] viz. *χρὸν.*  
 6 *αἱ μὲν γὰρ οἱ (ἢ ἡμετέροι) Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς Πελοποννησίοις εὖ λίσσιν.* If an Orator was to undertake the business of praising the Athenians in an assembly of Peloponnesians, who may be supposed naturally prejudiced in their disfavour.  
 9 *ἀγωνίζεσθαι*] is to perform his part: for inasmuch as an Orator's reputation was so highly interested in the satisfaction which he gave to his Auditors, this business of speaking might properly be considered as an *ἄγων*. And agreeably hereunto the word *ἐδδικιμήσαντος* is used just above; which is an agonistical term signifying to acquit oneself with credit: in which sense *δικμος* occurs frequently in SS. 2 Tim. 2. 15. Jam. 1. 2. *ἀδδικμος* the contrary 1 Cor. 9. 27.  
 17 *Δαωσίαν*] She was born at Miletus; and is said by her wit and beauty to have gain'd the affection of the principal Grecians of Ionia, as she afterwards did that of Pericles at Athens; over whom she is said to have had so much influence, as caused him to engage the Athenians in a war against the Samians, who had got the better of the Milesians in a war about the city of Priene.

- 14 18 λέγω γδ] *yes, I do mean her.*  
 21 Μουσικῇ] Tho' the word is often us'd in a more extended sense so as to comprehend all the politer arts, as being under the common patronage τῶν Μουσῶν, yet here it seems to refer to the art of *modulating* the voice, &c. as ῥητορικὴ does to the art of *composing* an oration.
- 15 7 μοι δεκῆ] viz. καὶ ὥς μοι δεκῆ.  
 10 ἐλίσσον] for ἐλίσγει δειν, or more fully ὥς δὲ μὲν καὶ στέγασται δειν.
- 11 ἀλλ' ὅπως] viz. διδιδίκα, or σκίπει, βλείπει, &c.  
 12 δασυδύνει] sc. ἱμαίει. Tho' Dancing in *Greece* was look'd on as a commendable accomplishment and made a constant part of liberal education, yet this like several others, became perverted to lascivious purposes, particularly what were call'd *χορδακισμοί*, and therefore no wonder that Dancing, when prostituted by Buffoons, should be thought indecent in men of wisdom and character. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 201. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 16. C. 1. Ar. 2. §. 10.
- 16 1 οἷδ' ἔχουσι] In the Edit. it is οἷδ' ἡδ' ἔχουσι. In *Dion. Halicarn.* and *Longin.* ἡδ' is omitted. The former admires this passage for the harmonious running of the words; the latter observes a particular beauty in *Plato's* describing Death by the periphrastical expression of ἀμεφρμένῃν παρέαν, and the discharging of the funeral solemnities by σεπτιμφοδίντες &c.  
 2 περιούσι] ἀμεφρμένῃν παρέαν] Alluding to the opinion that Souls could not be admitted to the common receptacle 'till their bodies were duly interr'd. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 161. &c.  
 3 κρινῇ] viz. σεπτιμφοδίντες implied in σεπτιμφοδίντες.  
 5 καὶ γὰρ] and it is proper in itself.  
 9 οὕτως παραινίσσεται] exhort them in such a manner as to soothe their present sorrow.  
 11 αἱ πρὶς τὸ ἀνωγειν ἐν σεργίῳ] as Grandfathers, Great Grandfathers, &c.  
 12 τούτους δὲ] Tho' the particle δὲ may seem redundant, yet this repetition is not uncommon in *Plato*, being more strongly determinative of the persons here spoken of.  
 16 ἡδαιξάμενοι] were contented to receive their own deaths in exchange, in order to purchase——  
 17 καὶ φύσει] in respect of their nature or birth.  
 32 ὑπεπῆξαι &c.] a similar expression we have *Tbucyd.* L. 1. οὐδ' αὖ σεπτοι τῷ τούτῳ ὑπεπῆξαντες — autores fuimus. & *Andoc.* οἱ ὑπεπῆξαν τὸ ἐλευθερίας ἀπώσση τῇ Ἑλλάδι.
- 17 1 οὐκ ἔπληρος ἦσαν] See *Περικλ.* p. 3. l. 8.  
 μεταικτῆρες] The *Athenians* were extremely jealous of their rights as freeborn Citizens, and were therefore particularly careful to keep up the distinction between themselves and the μέτριοι, or such as came from foreign countries and settled



tled in *Attica*; where, though they were admitted by the council of *Areopagus*, and enter'd in a publick register, yet they were kept from intermeddling in any business of a publick nature, or indeed from acting in any thing, unless by means of some Citizen, under whose patronage and protection they placed themselves. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 53 &c.

4 καὶ οὕτως κηδεύειν παλαιότατος] viz. φημι αὐτοὺς κηδεύειν τιλ. for this infinitive can't properly be referr'd to ἡ γένεσις ἀποφθιμίστην, l. 1.

6 ὑποδεξαμένης] which having first conceived them, as a Mother, bath now by their burial, received them back again to herself.

10 πάλαι μιν ἐ ἄλλῃ] viz. ἐντὶ μέγαλιν.

ib. φησὶν δὲ τῷ μέγαλιν] sc. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ μεγάλῳ.

21 ἡ ἀποφθιμίστην ἀπὸ αὐτῆς θεῶν ἱεὺς π ἐ κείνης] viz. between Neptune and Minerva, who should be declared Protector of Athens, *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 31, 91. *Hind.* p. 20, 21.

15 οὐδ' ἡ πῦρ γὰρ ἀνδίδει &c.] see *Lucret.* l. 5. v. 780 &c.

18 ἱστῶμεν] Alluding to the title in which the Athenians prided themselves, *Αὐτόχθονες*.

19. μὲν δὲ] not only thinks there are, but κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἰσὶν αὐτῶν.

21 πῦρ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι &c.] Notwithstanding the frivolousness of this reasoning, *Lucretius* seems to have alluded to it, l. 5. v. 805.

*Hinc ubi quæque loci regio opportuna dabatur,*

*Crescebant usque terræ radicibus apti;*

*Quos ubi tempore maturo patefecerat ætas*

*Infantum fugiens humorem, aurasque petissens,*

*Convertebat ibi Natura foramina terræ,*

*Et succum venis cogebat fundere apertis*

*Consimilem lactis: sicut nunc scæmina quæque*

*Cum peperit dulci repletur lacte, —*

22 ἡ καὶ γὰρ τικθὲναι τι] The participle here following the adjective is to be thus resolved, either ἡ καὶ δὴλον ἐν γυναικὶ τικθὲν αἰσθῆναι, or δὴλον ἐντὶ αὐτῇ γυναικὶ τικθὲν —

23 καὶ μὲν ἀπὸ ὑποστάσεως] viz. καὶ (δὴλον) μὲν (ταύτης) ἀπὸ ὑποστάσεως. l. c. καὶ δὴλον ἐν γυναικὶ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπὸ ὑποστάσεως, or αὖ μὲν ἴσται ἀπὸ ὑποστάσεως —

18 ἡ μὲν γὰρ &c.] *Lucret.* l. 6. v. 1.

*Primæ frugiferos fœtus mortalibus ægris*

*Dididerunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ:*

*Et cœceavissent vitæ, legesque rogarent.*

2 οὐδ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι] viz. καί ποτε.

18 8 *οὐκ ἐφθίγγουσιν ἀμ' ἑνους &c.*] *It has been so far from dealing them out with a niggardly hand, that it hath imparted sufficient to serve the necessities of others.* As to the fact, *Attica* is on all hands agreed to have been very craggy, and to have had a very unfruitful soil, which, however disadvantageous in other respects, served to quicken the invention of the Inhabitants, and put them upon exerting themselves by trade and commerce. *Stan. V. 1. 11. Archæol. v. 1. p. 2. Rollin V. 2. B. 5. Art. 3.* In the reign of *Pandion I. Triptolemus* is said to have taught the *Athenians* to sow and manure the ground, which art he learnt from *Ceres*, the same with the *Egyptian Isis*, who is thought at this time to have come into *Attica*. *Stan. v. 1. p. 141.*

11 *Θεὸς ἐπηγάγε[ς]* *Cecrops* an *Egyptian* is said to have introduced a form of Religion among the *Athenians*, and to have erected Altars and Statues in honour of the Gods, particularly *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. *Stan. v. 1. p. 132. Archæol. v. 1. p. 184.*

ib. *ὁνέμε[ν] αὐτῶν*] Inasmuch as it would be descending too low to recount the several inventors of manual arts, and would be foreign to the purpose to be particular in the detail of any transactions but those of a military nature.

13 *πῆχυν ἀρχῆς*] *Cecrops* Navigation, *Triptolemus* Agriculture, *Theseus* civil Polity. *Archæol. v. 1. p. 8, 9, 10. Pelasgus* Building. *Stan. p. 10.*

15 *ἄλλων κτῆσι*] See *Archæol. v. 2. B. 3. c. 4.*

17 *ἀπὸ βροχίων*] viz. *ἡμετέων*.

22 *ὣν εἶδε τελευτήσασιν ὅτις οἱ τελευτήσας*] instances whereof we have now before us in the persons here deceased.

23 *ὅτι ἢ καὶ οὖν (ἦν) ἀριστοκρατία*] viz.] it was originally, as it now is, in reality according to the import of the name, an Aristocracy, the best constituted form of Government.

24 *ὡς πρὸς πᾶσι*] The Democracy was broke in upon several times; viz. by *Pisistratus*, — when the Government of the 400 was established, — when the thirty Tyrants had the Administration.

19 1 *ὅδε, ἄλλος*] i. e. κατ' ἄλλο ὄνομα.

2 *μὴ ἰδιόξειν πλεόνους ἀριστοκρατίαν*] an Aristocracy extending to All the people, with no other distinction than that of their good repute or good desert. The Commonalty of *Athens* being by *Solon's* constitution invested with the supreme power in all affairs, as well publick as private, He to prevent the pernicious consequences that might arise from the rashness of an unthinking multitude, instituted a council of men of the best credit in the city to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the people; this Council at first consisted

19 consisted of 400, afterwards of 500. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 97 &c.

3 βασιλῆς μὴ γὰρ ἀπὲ] q. d. *And whereas the Lacedæmonians boast of the advantages of Regal government, we have always had something thereof in our constitution. The persons invested with that authority holding it sometimes by descent, at other times by election. After Cadmus the name of King was no longer given to the supreme Magistrate, but that of Archon. The office was at first perpetual; then decennial; afterwards annual: After which last regulation there were 9 of them; and only one had the title of Archon: his authority, tho' much curb'd by his colleagues and by the councils, was however pretty nearly as extensive as that of the Lacedæmonian Kings. The next was call'd βασιλεύς, but his jurisdiction related chiefly to religious matters. The third, Πόλιμαρχος; and the six others, Θυροφύται.* *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 12, 76. See Syneſtus de Regno. Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἂν ἡ βασιλεία τις καλὴ μὲν καὶ ἱερὰ, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡ, ἡς τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ οἰόμεναι πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦτο.

4 ἐκ κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως] The Commonalty had a negative upon all proceedings of the Senate, *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 95, 96. and therefore might be said to hold and restrain the Government within the bounds of moderation.

5 ἀρχαίς ἢ κερταῖς] The people had the disposal of all magistracies at Athens; and even those persons who owed their promotion to lot, were first approved by the people before they enter'd upon their office, *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 72.

6 κερταῖς] influence, authority.

ib. τίς αὖ δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς, αἰα] to men according as they appear distinguished by their virtue.

ib. ἀδυναμί] (viz. ἐπὶ) for want of personal interest.

7 οὕτως καὶ] See *Pericl.* p. 4. l. 9.

ib. οὐτ' ἀλλοίως πατέρων] The Athenians were very jealous of their rights and privileges as Citizens, and obliged all fathers to enroll their sons in the register of their particular φρενείας, call'd κρινὸν χαμμενταῖον. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 47. so that ἀλλοίως πατέρων only signifies their being men of no figure, or eminence in the state.

ib. ἀπεκρίσθαι] is thought disqualified for, or rejected from.

8. τῆς ἐναντίας] (ἐπὶ) for the contrary qualifications.

9. ἡ ὅρα] the one and only mark of distinction is this.

ib. κερταῖ] has influence.

10 τῆς πολιτικῆς πύτης] of our thus conducting our publick affairs.

12 ἀνωμαλῶν] men of different rank and condition.

ib. ἀνόμενοι πολιτείας] unequal administrations of government. ὁμοίως seu ὁμοίως planus, æqualis. ὁμοίως διατεταταῖς civilis;

- 12 *civilis*: cui *πλεονεξία* opponitur, seu plus habendi, acquirendique, cupiditas immodica, avaritiaque circumscribens, quæ sibi partem majorem justâ præcidit; est vitium ejus, qui in omni re præcipuum quippiam habere vult. *Budeus*.
- 13 *Τυραννίδης*] This was a term of reproach, as is also *Oligarchy* in the mouth of an *Athenian*, applied to all Monarchical and Aristocratical governments however administered.
- 14 *οἰκῶσιν ὅν, οἱ τοὶ μὲν δούλους, οἱ δὲ διακρίτας &c.*] This distinction likewise obtained at *Athens*; the Servants being the most numerous part of the inhabitants of *Attica*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 57 &c. But what he means is this, that in Monarchical and Oligarchical governments the bulk of the Citizens themselves are little better than *Slaves*; the *Men of fortune* look upon their inferiors as such.
- ib. *οἰκῶσιν ὅν*] *the consequence whereof is seen in private life, that — or — accordingly they live in such manner as to regard one another —*
- 16 *οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν*] *We neither think so meanly of ourselves as to become the Servants, nor so highly as to Lord it over one another —*
- 18 *ζητῶν*] *to exert ourselves in securing.*
- ib. *μηδὲν ἄλλω*] i. e. *ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀντιμέστον* in no other respect, on no other account —
- 21 *καὶ ἡγεῖας φέρουσιν*] *having the glorious advantage of being free-born —*
- 22 *ἀποφανθέντες*] *have displayed, have distinguished themselves by —*
- 20 *Εὐμέλῳ καὶ Ἀμφικλῆϊ*] It must not be supposed that these expeditions against *Athens* happen'd at the same time. see *Chronol. Tab.*
- ib. *Εὐμέλῳ*] He was K. of *Thrace*, and assisted the *Eleusinians* in a war against *Athens* in the reign of *Ereäheus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 124. *Hind.* p. 26.
- ib. *καὶ Ἀμφικλῆϊ*] This war happened in the reign of *Egeus*; the *Amazons* being provoked thereunto by his son *Theseus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 150. *Hind.* p. 57. See *Lysias* p. 38. l. 10.
- 2 *ἐν τῶν ἐν παλαιῶν*] viz. in the fabulous times preceding the date of these transactions.
- 3 *Ἀργείους*] viz. when they assisted *Adrastus* against *Creon* in recovering the dead bodies of his friends who were slain before *Thebes*. For *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, sons of *Oedipus* K. of *Thebes*, quarrelling about the administration of their father's Government, the latter called in to his assistance *Adrastus* K. of *Argos*; the attack upon the city of *Thebes* was made under the command of *Polynices* and *Adrastus*, with five other Captains, commonly called *οἱ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θηβαίους*, who all fell, except *Adrastus*, with defeat of the army of the *Argives*. Upon this, *Creon* usurped the throne of *Thebes*, and would

would not suffer the *Argives* to bury their Dead, till the *Athenians* under *Theseus* came at the request of *Adrastus*, and did it by force. *Hind* p. 66. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 127.

20 *Ἡρακλῆδαις πρὸς Ἀργείους*] viz. against *Eurystheus*. After the death of *Hercules*, *Eurystheus* continued his resentment and expressed it to his Children, by commanding *Hyllus* and the rest, being about 60 in number, as they grew up, to quit *Peloponnesus*. They not being in a capacity to resist him, betook themselves to *Athens*, where they were harboured and protected. *Eurystheus* finding them thus settled in a body, and carrying it high upon their own descent and their Father's merit, invaded *Attica*, with a design to extirpate them. But he himself and his sons were slain. The *Heraclidae* in their turn invaded *Peloponnesus* several times, but were obliged to desist, till the third generation; when they succeeded in their enterprise, and changed the face of affairs in *Peloponnesus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 37. 58. *Hind* p. 49.

ib. *πρὸς Καδμείους*] He calls the *Thebans* by this name, because they were yet under Kings of the race of *Cadmus*; Afterwards when their government became Democratical, they are called *Θηβαῖοι*.

4 *ἢ, τι χρόνος βραχὺς διηγήσασθαι*] *the time would fail me, is too short to relate.*

ib. *ποιήται τε αὐτῶν*] particularly as to the *Theban* war; *Antimachus* in *Plato's* time is said to have publish'd 24 books, only of the Preparations for the siege of *Thebes*. *Stan.* V. 1, p. 126. *Æschylus* the Tragedian in his *ἱππὶ ἐπὶ Θήβαις*. *Sophocles* in his *Ἐπίγονοι* and *Ἀργείνη*. *Euripides* in his *Φωνισσῶν*. — As to the troubles of the *Heraclidae*, *Euripides* has a Tragedy with that title.

5 *ὥς μουσικῇ*] viz. *τέχνη* or *ἐπιστήμη*, in poetry.

6 *μνημονεύουσιν*] It was usual for Poets to recite their compositions at the publick Games of Greece, *Artabæol.* V. 1. p. 445.

7 *λόγῳ ἑλῶ*] in meer naked prose.

ib. *παχὺ ἂν δούτερι φαυλομένῳ*] *I should doubtless make but a low and mean appearance.*

8 *ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν*] (viz. *μηδὲν*) as justice hath been done to them — or although they merit it —

10 *ἢν ἴσιν ὧς ἀμνηστία*] not absolutely so; for how then could he pretend to give an account of them? but in a way of being forgot for want of being celebrated by some eminent Genius.

ib. *λάττων ἔχει*] i. e.] *ἔλαττον*.

11 *μοι δοκέει — ἐπιμνησθῆναι*] N. B. the transition from the *Dative* to the *Accusative*.

ib. *ἐπιμνησθῆναι*] to make mention of.

ib. *προμυιάμενον*] exhorting, persuading.

14 *ὥσπερ*] (viz. *ταῦτα*.)

- 14 Πήματα ἡγεμῖνας τῆς Ἀσίας] particularly that part of *Asia minor* which was peopled by *Grecian Colonies*, *Æolia*, *Ionia*, *Caria* and *Doris*.
- 15 ἔχον] *check'd the progress of*—
- ib. οἱ τῆςδε τῆς χάριτος ἐκγονοί] alluding to their favorite title *Αυτοχρόνους*.
- 17 μεμνημένους] viz. ἡμᾶς implied in the preceding ἡμέτεροι.
- 20 τελευτῶν ἡδὲ βασιλείῃ] viz. *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; for *Cyrus* was the founder of the *Persian Monarchy*; — to him succeeded *Cambyzes*; — and (after a short interval) *Darius*.
- ib. ἐλαθροκόουσι Πίρους] see *Hind.* p. 237 &c. *Prideaux* Connect. P. 1. B. 2. *Rollin.* V. 2. B. 4. c. 1. who chiefly follow *Xenophon*. But *Plato* seems here principally to regard the account given by *Herodotus*: according to which, *Deioces* was the founder of the *Median Empire*, and reigned 53 years; he was succeeded by *Phaortes* who subdued the *Persians*, and a great part of *Asia*, and died after a reign of 22 years. His son *Cyaxares* divided *Asia* into distinct provinces and governments, and carried his conquests into *Assyria*, but was for a time interrupted in them by an invasion of *Scythians* into *Asia*, and died after a reign of 40 years. His son *Astyages* reigned 35 years, and was dethroned by his grandson *Cyrus*; by whom the Empire of *Asia* was transferred from the *Medes* to his Countrymen the *Persians*. *Herodot.* L. 1. 95—131.
- 21 φρονίμως] *courage, resolution, good sense*. —
- 23 μίχεται Διγύπτιον] according to *Xenophon's* account, *Ægypt* likewise was render'd tributary to *Cyrus*.
- 23 ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ] viz. *Cambyzes*.
- ib. Ἀργυρίῳ] It is probable that after the death of *Cyrus* *Amasis* K. of *Ægypt* endeavoured to shake off the *Persian* yoke: but he and his son *Psammenitus* failing in the attempt, all *Ægypt* was reduced under the *Persian* Empire. *Rollin*, V. 2. B. 4. c. 2. &c. *Hind.* p. 249. *Prideaux*, V. 1. p. 235.
- 24 ὅσον οἶόν τε ἢ ἐπιπλύνειν] alluding to the terrible destruction, which was made of his men in passing over the deserts of *Libya* by the torrents of sand which overwhelmed them; and to the great distresses which another army of his suffered, for want of provisions, in his expedition against the *Æthiopians*. *Prideaux* ib. p. 239 &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 4. c. 2.
- 21 ἡ πλῆξ] viz. *δυνάμις*.  
ib. μίχεται Σκυθῶν] Against the *Tbracians* and *Getae* he succeeded, but was forced to retreat after an inglorious attempt against *Scythia*, or that Country which lies between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 208. *Hind.* p. 262. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 275 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 3.

- 2 τῆς τε θαλάσσης ἀρκούντες καὶ τῶν νήων] *Prideaux* p. 287-291. *Stanley* V. 1. p. 215. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 1. c. 6. §. 6. The Islands of the *Ægean* sea seem 'till this time to have enjoyed each of them the benefit of their own Laws and Government.
- 3 αἱ γνώμαι διδουμένηαι ἦσαν] *their very souls were so much impressed that no one had thoughts of resisting* —
- 4 οὗτω πάλαι καὶ μεγάλη καὶ μέγιστος] Besides those already mentioned, *Darius* subdued *India*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 5.
- 5 κραυδουμένηαι ἦ] in an active sense, *had subdued* —
- 6 ἡμῶς τε καὶ Ερετριῶν] The *Athenians* did actually joyn with and assist the *Ionians* in their revolt from the K. of *Persia*, with twenty ships, being induced thereunto by *Artaphernes*'s giving shelter to *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 283.
- ib. Ερετριῶν] They made themselves objects of the *Persians* resentment by sending 5 of their ships in conjunction with the *Athenians* in their expedition against *Sardes*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 212. *Hind* p. 276. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 294.
- 6 αἰσωνοῦμενοι] *having resolved to quarrel with us, to find something to accuse us* —
- ib. Σαρδεις] *Sardes* was the metropolis of *Lydia*, and the usual place of residence to the *Persian* Satrapa. — The *Ionian* revolters in conjunction with the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* made themselves masters of the town; when an *Ionian* soldier setting fire to one house, the rest being built most of cane took fire and were reduced to ashes, the castle only excepted; into which *Artaphernes* had retired with his Garrison, upon the taking of the town by the revolters. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 284.
- 7 ἀποφανίζομεν Σαρδεις ἐπιβουλῶν] *alleging this as the particular pretext, that we had formed (or rather executed) a design against Sardes*.
- 8 πλοῖους καὶ ναυσι] the former *transport ships*, the latter *ships of war*.
- 10 ἢ βάλοντο τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν] *if he had any thoughts of, or inclination to save his head*.
- 11 οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήων οἱ τοῖς ἐυδαιμονοῦσιν ἦσαν] *who were some of the most considerable people among the Grecians of that time for* —
- 13 οἱ περιὲν ἡμέρας] Others say that for six days the *Persians* were repulsed with loss in their attempts to storm the City but that on the 17th it was betrayed into their hands, plundered, and burnt. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 221. *Hind*, p. 292. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 295.

- 15 *Ἐριτρίαις*] *Ertria* was not the principal city of *Eubœa*, but only the next to *Chalcis*: It stood upon the *Euripus* on the western side of the Island, and by the expression *ὡς ἡμέλειαις* *ὡς ἡμέλειαις*, it should seem that nearly half of the Island was under its jurisdiction.
- 17 *ἵεναι*] *that they might be able to* —
- 19 *ἡγηγῶντο*] *were conducted viz. by Hippias, or simply descended from on shipboard into the plain of Marathon.*
- ib. *Μαραθῶνα*] ten miles distant from *Athens*.
- ib. *ὡς ἱπποὶς ὀφίον ἐν*] *viz. χώρον, as being the most convenient place, viz. for their Cavalry.* — or, it may be the Accusative absolute, the same with *ὡς ἱπποὶν ὄντων ἀσάφους* *as being an easy matter to bring* —
- 21 *ζυγὰς* *Ἐργαρίων ἄγων*] With this intent the *Persians* are said to have come provided with a great number of fetters and chains. *Rollin V. 3. c. 1.*
- 23 *ἄλλοις πάλιν Λακεδαιμον.*] The *Platœans* excepted; for they furnished 1000 soldiers. The *Athenians* being sensible of the disproportion of their own forces to the *Persian*, dispatch'd messengers to *Lacedæmon* for their speedy assistance. The *Lacedæmonians* seemed very willing to assist; but not being permitted to stir by their laws till the Full of the Moon, came not into the field till the day after the battle. *Strab. V. 1. p. 221, 223. Mind. p. 292. Rollin V. 3. c. 1. §. 7.*
- 24 *τῇ ὁδοῦ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ*] *q. d. μὴ ἴσως ὕστερον ἢ νῦν.*
- 22 *ἡσυχάζοντες τῇ ἐν τῇ παρὸν ὁρμήσει*] *being contented with saving their lives for the present.* — not considering the probable consequences of their Cowardice.
- 2 *ἐν τῇ*] *sc. χρόνῳ.*
- 4 *διέτρεψεν*] not that the *Athenians* waited to receive the enemy; but, small as their numbers were, (*viz. 10,000 against 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse,*) they gave the onset. *Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.*
- 5 *ἅπαντες Ἕλληνας*] *viz. first of all the Grecians, who triumphed over the Persian forces.*
- 6 *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντίκτῳ τῶν Βασιλέων*] The *Trophies* of the Antients consisted chiefly of the armour and spoils of the vanquished enemy, hung upon the trunk of a tree and dedicated to some of the Gods. Sometimes Pillars of Stone were made use of. *Archæol. V. 2. p. 111, 113.* At this battle of *Marathon* the *Persians* thought themselves so sure of victory, that they had brought marble in order to erect a Trophy there. The *Grecians* took this marble and caused a statue to be made of it by *Phidias* in honour of the Goddess *Nemesis*. *Rollin. V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.*
- ib. *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντίκτῳ τῶν Βασιλέων*] *viz. ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βασιλέων*
- 8 *ἀπὸ τοῦ*] *ἢ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ*



11 ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ (viz. γῇ) in contradistinction to *Asia*.

12 ἔργον] *that action, that achievement* —

ib. πῶς ὑπέρχεσθαι μάχης] viz. καὶ πῶς &c.

13 ἐπὶ ἀλμυροῦ] *had the courage, the resolution, to—*

14 μαρτυρεῖται τῇ Μαρωνίδι] viz. ἀγαπιδωνοσάντων.

ib. ἀρετῶν καὶ λόγων ἀντιθέτων] *The rewards of the first and principal honours therefore I am in this Oration to distribute to —*

15 τοῖς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα καὶ ἐκ Ἀρτεμισίου] Of the two fights here referred to, that at *Artemisium* happened first. *Artemisium* was a promontory in the north part of *Eubæa*. The *Persians* had designed to surprise the *Grecian* fleet in the streights of *Eubæa* with a squadron of theirs; but by the advice of *Themistocles*, the *Grecians* set sail in the night, and by a counter-surprise fell in with them, took and sunk 30 ships and forced the rest to sea; where by stress of weather they were all sunk or stranded. The next day the *Persians* bore down with the remaining part of their fleet upon that of the *Grecians*, which by the singular valour of the *Athenians* maintained the conflict, but was so shatter'd in the engagement, as to be forced to quit this station in order to refit. *Stan. V.* 1. p. 242. *Hind.* p. 313. *Rollin V.* 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.

16 περὶ Σαλαμῖνα] After the foregoing engagement the *Persians* coming up with their fleet invaded *Eubæa* and the neighbouring Coasts. *Xerxes* at the same time marched thro' *Doris* and *Phocis* to *Bæotia* ravaging all before him. The *Grecian* confederates still continued upon the retreat, and the *Athenians* found themselves obliged to transport their wives and children and most valuable effects to *Træzene*, *Ægina* and *Salamis*; at the latter of which places (being a little island over against and near *Attica*) was the rendezvous of the *Grecian* fleet. Here *Themistocles* partly by bullying the rest of the *Grecian* Commanders, and partly by stratagem, induced them to hazard an engagement with a much superior force of the *Persians*, and defeated them. *Stan. V.* 1. p. 248. *Hind.* p. 321. *Rollin V.* 3. c. 2. §. 8.

18 οἷα ἐπὶ ἑκάστῃ ἐπικείμενα] *what a series of dangers and difficulties, attacking them one after another, they sustained —*

20 τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἔργον τοῖς Μαρωνίδι διανεσθέντος] *seconded the blow that given by our Countrymen at Marathon.*

ib. ὅτι τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἔργον &c.] viz. τῆς Εὐθηρίας σωτηρίας as p. 23. l. 10.

21 οἱ Μαρωνίδι] i. e. οἱ ἐπὶ Μαρωνίδι μαχησάμενοι.

24 πλάττει] see *Lysias* p. 45. l. 7.

23 2 τὸν ἐκ τῶν φόβων] *the fear which possessed them: or, which was near them; or, the fear which was connected with and arose from what is above mentioned, πλάττει ἐκ πλάττει &c.*

- 23 <sup>9</sup> τὸ δὲ Πλαταιαῖς ἔχον] After *Xerxes's* retreat out of *Greece*, *Mardonius* stayed behind and wintered in *Thessaly*. In the spring he offered very advantageous terms of peace to the *Athenians*; which being rejected with disdain, he enter'd *Attica* with fire and sword; whereupon the *Athenians* a second time deserted their city, and retired to *Salamis*. The joint forces of *Greece* being now on their march towards him from *Peloponnesus*, he retreated into the plain-country of *Boeotia*, in order to put himself into a better posture of defence. The *Grecian* army was 120,000, under *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; The *Persians* were 350,000, or, as others, 500,000. These latter attacked the *Lacedæmonian* part of the army at a disadvantage, near the city of *Plataea*, but were repulsed with vigour and forced into their intrenchments; when the *Athenians* coming up rendered the victory compleat. The very same day the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* gave an entire defeat to another large army of *Persians* near *Mysale*, a promontory of *Ionid*, and burnt their shipping. *Sian*. V. 1. p. 255—266. *Hind*. p. 353 &c. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4 p. 340. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2.

fb. ἔχον — ἡ Εὐκλείδης τῆς ἐπείας] viz. ἔχον —

21 τὸ μέγιστον τῆς χαλεπότητος (viz. μεγάλῃ) αὐτοὶ πάντες ἤμυναν] These then, all of them ward off the greatest difficulty, namely, the danger with which the *Persians* threatened us —

13 ὡς ἂν ὑπερ] (viz. ἱσχυρίων ἐγκωμιασθέντων.)

14 πᾶσι δὲ πόλεσι] The foregoing defeats of the *Persians* were followed by the revolt of all *Ionid*; which entering into a confederacy with the *Grecians*, by their help, maintained its liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire. Besides this, the *Grecians* equipped a strong fleet, of which *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* and *Aristides* the *Athenian* had the command; they sailed first to *Cyprus*, and the next year to the *Hellepont* and other places, and freed many cities from the *Persian* garrisons, and restored them to their liberty (*Prideaux* B. 4. p. 348, 352. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 2. §. 14.) But this giving liberty to the *Grecian* cities was chiefly effected by *Cimon* three years afterwards, who reduced several islands upon the coast of *Thrace*; and the next year after, sailing from *Athens* with a fleet of 200 sail, and augmenting it with 100 more from the *Asiatick* Allies, drove the *Persians* out of *Caria* and *Lycia*, destroyed their fleet in the mouth of the river *Euxymedon*, and the very same day landing his forces overthrew, and gained a compleat victory over their land army; He soon after surpris'd and destroyed 80 *Phœnician* ships which were coming to join the *Persian* fleet. And the next year reduced the *Tbractian* *Cherfoneus* with

- 23 with several of the Isles adjacent. *Prideaux* B. 4. p. 358. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 3. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 265 and 289.
- 15 ἀναθεῶν ὡς ἐπιχειρῶν] to be meditating a design of invading —
- 20 οἱ πρὶν τὴν Εὐρυμέδον &c.] the sea fight at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia* happened 7 years after one of their expeditions to *Cyprus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 272, and 290. *Hind.* p. 346, and 367. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 348, 356.
- 20 οἱ ἄς Κόντος ἑσπινούσας καὶ οἱ ἄς Διγῶλοι πλεούσαντες] *Cyprus* was an island lying in the streights between *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*. As the possession of it would on all occasions be a curb to the *Persian*, the *Athenians* sent thither a fleet of 200 sail; and in order to secure to themselves a greater command in those parts, joined their forces with *Inarus* K. of *Lybia*, to support the *Egyptians* in their revolt from the *Persian*. Upon first landing in *Egypt* the *Athenians* routed the *Persians* and pursued them to *Memphis*, took two parts of the city, and blocked up the third. But after a siege of near three years they were obliged to desist, were themselves with their shipping blocked up in the *Nile*, and after great losses with difficulty retired home, having spent near six years in this fruitless expedition. *Prideaux* V. 2. B. 5. p. 371, 442. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 310. *Hind.* p. 377.
- 22 χάσαν αὐτοῖς ἄδιναν ὦν] to retain and express a grateful sense of their services, in that they —
- 24 ἀλλὰ μὴ &c.] Accordingly, after the conquests of *Cimon*, *Xerxes* gave over all thoughts of the *Grecian* war; nor were any more of his ships seen in the *Ægean* sea, nor any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 359.
- 24 ἰ δυνετλήθη] *Virg.* *Æn.* 4.  
*Quæ bella exhausta canebat.*
- ib. πᾶσιν τῇ πόλει] The city being obliged to exert her whole force in the *Persian* war.
- 2 ἰμοφάνων] *Æolis* in *Asia minor* was inhabited by a colony of *Dorians* of *Laconia* after their expulsion out of *Peloponnesus* by the *Heræclidæ*; as was a great part of *Lesbos*. — *Ionian* by a colony of *Iontans*, who being likewise expelled *Peloponnesus* returned to *Athens* their original country, and in conjunction with other *Athenians* under *Nileus* and *Androcles* sons of *Codrus*, seized upon that part of the coast of *Asia minor* which lies between *Caria* and *Lydia*. Other *Dorians* settled, some of them in *Crete*, but a much larger number in that part of *Asia minor*, which was from them called *Doris*, and in the adjacent islands of *Rhodus*, *Cos*, &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 5. Tho' there was a difference in the language of the inhabitants of these several districts of *Asia minor* and the Islands,

- 24 as also between those of proper *Greece*, yet as they were all derived from and grounded upon the same original tongue, it proved a mighty cement to unite them in one common interest, as it suggested that they were all related to each other in their origin.

3 ὃ δὲ φιλᾷ — τοῖς ἐν ἐξέλιξι αὐτοκινήσει] *what usually happens to persons in prosperity.*

- 6 αὐτῶν μὲν ἦλος &c.] Soon after the victories gained over the *Persians* at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, *Pausanias*, the chief commander of the *Lacedæmonian* forces, by his haughtiness gave the *Grecian* confederates such ill impressions of the *Lacedæmonian* dominion, that they all, except the *Peloponnesians*, put themselves under the protection of the *Athenians*, and gave them liberty to rate all the cities in such proportion of ships and money, as they thought necessary for the support of the war. This transferring of the command of *Greece* occasioned no small jealousy in the *Lacedæmonians*, and laid the foundation of such discontent and afterwards broke out into an open rupture; particularly on occasion of the *Lacedæmonians* dismissing in a fit of jealousy a body of *Athenians* from their service, whom they had sent for to assist them in quelling an insurrection of their slaves, as *Thucydides* relates B. 2. *Stan-yan* V. 1. p. 272 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 14.

- 9 σπυῖοι αὖ Τανάγρα] q. d. ἡμίτεροι πολῖται (implied in τὴν πόλιν 1.8.) σπυῖοι (μύχην.) The quarrel which occasioned this engagement, lay between the *Phocians* and the *Dorians*; to the assistance of which latter, the *Lacedæmonians*, as being originally descended from them, sent 11500 men. These forces soon brought the *Phocians* to terms: but staying in *Boeotia* were attacked about *Tanagra* a city not far distant from *Thebes*, by the *Athenians*; the slaughter on both sides was considerable, and the victory turned in favour of the *Lacedæmonians*. About two months after this defeat, the *Athenians* marched into *Boeotia* under *Myronides*, and intirely routed the inhabitants with those *Lacedæmonian* forces, which were left, at a place called *Oenophytia*, or the Vineyards, took *Tanagra* by storm and demolished it and overran the greatest part of *Boeotia*, *Phocis* and *Locris Opuntia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 302, &c. *Hind.* p. 381.

- ib. ὑπὲρ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐλυθηλαῖ] The *Thebans*, who had for some time been under disgrace, upon account of their joining with *Xerxes* in the *Persian* war, and now found themselves despised and their authority disowned by the rest of the *Boeotians*, desired the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* to reduce all *Boeotia* under the Dominion of *Thebes*: promising them that, if they would assist them in that desire, they would maintain the war against the *Athenians* at their own charge.

The

- 24 The *Lacedæmonians*, by the forces which they then had at *Tanagra*, enlarged the extent of the city of *Thebes*, and forced the other cities of *Boeotia* to submit to her authority. This occasioned the *Athenians* to march out and engage the *Lacedæmonians* at *Oenophyta*. *Hind*. p. 382. — *Thucydides* gives another reason why the *Athenians* attacked the *Lacedæmonian* forces at *Tanagra*, viz. their having a design to second and support the attempts of some of their own citizens to subvert the *Democracy*, B. 2.

11 δίκαιον τὸ ὑπερὶ ἕξου] see not. l. 9.

ib. αἱ μὲν ἔχοντο ἀπίοντες &c.] This is agreeable to what *Thucydides* says, that the *Lacedæmonians* (I suppose the main part of them) went home after the battle at *Tanagra*.

12 Βοιωτὺς οἷς ἐστὶ] viz. the *Thebans* and their Party; for the *Athenians* likewise engaged ὑπὲρ Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας.

13 τρίτη ἡμέρα] *Diodorus Siculus*, who is very particular in his account of this expedition, has nothing which corresponds to this expression; *Thucydides* says that the *Athenians* set out upon this expedition δυνάμει καὶ ἐκκέρει ἡμέρῃ after the battle at *Tanagra*.

ib. τὰς ἀδικίας φεύγοντας] those that had been injuriously forced to fly their Country, in order to escape the tyranny of the *Thebans*.

14 πλεονεξίας] N. B. the repetition of this word l. 18.

16 ὡς οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν ἡσυχάζει] *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of this action at *Tanagra* as little, if at all, inferior to those at *Marathon* and *Plataea*.

18 πολλὰ πολέμῳ ἡσορῶν] a great a general war arising — for the first grounds of the *Peloponnesian* war here referred to, see *Stan.* V. 1. p. 320, 326. *Hind.* p. 400, &c. 405, 411. *Rollin*, V. 3. B. 7 c. 1. §. 13, 14.

19 πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιστρατιωσάντων] The *Lacedæmonians* had secured almost all *Peloponnesus* on their side, at the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war; together with the *Megareans*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Boeotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians* and *Anaetorians*: On the *Athenian* side were the *Cbians*, *Lesbians*, *Plataeans*, *Messenians* inhabiting *Naupactus*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyraeans* and *Zacynthians*; besides great part of the *Asiatick* *Greecians* on the sea coast, several towns of *Thrace*, with most of the lesser Islands, and tributary cities in general. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 333. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 11.

20 μὴδὲν τὴν χώραν] for the *Athenians* not being able to face the *Lacedæmonians* with their land forces, by the advice of *Pericles* brought into *Athens* all their families and effects out of the country, together with the very timber of their houses, which they pulled down; and conveyed away their cattle into *Eubœa* and the neighbouring isles. So that the forces of the

- 24 the *Lacedæmonians* could make no other havock in the country but *τίμναι τὴν χώραν* cutting down the trees, corn, &c. Rollin V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 1. Stan. V. 1. p. 385.

ib. *ἀνέβαιον χάριν ἐμπνόντων*] making a very ungrateful return to —

21 *ναυμυχία*] The *Athenians* having at the commencement of the war a fleet of 300 Gallies, by *Pericles's* advice they placed their main confidence in exerting their maritime force, and with part of it layed waste the territories of *Laconia*, and with the rest overawed the allies on whom contributions were levied. Rollin V. 3. p. 344.

ib. *νικήσαντες αὐτὸς &c.*] The action here hinted at was one of the most signal of all the *Peloponnesian* war, tho' the number of *Lacedæmonians* (being only 420) immediately concerned in it was but small: it happened in the 7th year of the war; when upon the *Lacedæmonians* endeavouring to dispossess the *Athenians* of *Pylus*, a naval engagement was fought, in which the *Athenians* were victorious and enclosed a select body of *Lacedæmonians*, who had thrown themselves into *Sphacteria*, and reduced those, who survived the several skirmishes, (being 292) to the extremity of surrendering prisoners at discretion, and carried them to *Athens*. Rollin V. 3. p. 384. Stan. V. 1. p. 367.

23 *ἐν τῇ Σφαγίᾳ*] *Sphagia* was another name of the island *Sphacteria*, as we are informed by *Strabo* B. 8. For want of attending to this, the passage hath been usually translated as if the words had been *ἐν τῇ σφαγῇ* in *bac clade*.

24 *ἤρουν ἐπιπύσαι*] The *Lacedæmonians* sued to the *Athenians* for peace, when first their countrymen were blocked up in the island *Sphacteria*, upon their finding themselves unable to relieve them: But the *Athenians* being very insolent in their demands, the *Lacedæmonians* chose to continue the war, and in two years got so much advantage, that the *Athenians* grew more moderate, and came to terms of peace for 50 years, the chief Articles being that "the Garrisons should be evacuated, and the Towns and Prisoners restored on both sides." During all this while the *Lacedæmonian* prisoners taken in *Sphacteria* had remained prisoners at *Athens*. Stan. V. 1. p. 365—382.

24 *ἡγέμενοι ὥς μιν τὸ ἰσχυρόν &c.*] *Cic. de Offic. L. 1.* Ea bella, quibus imperii gloria proposita est, minus acerbè gerenda sunt. Ut enim cum cive aliter contendimus, si est inimicus, aliter, si est competitor: cum altero certamen honoris et dignitatis est: cum altero capitis et famæ. Sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret &c. *Sall. B. Jug.* cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare.

- 25 <sup>1</sup> μὴ δ' ἔργῳ ἰδῶσι τῆς πόλεως] This was remarkably the disposition of the *Athenians*, when *Themistocles* had formed a scheme to supplant the *Lacedæmonians* and burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the *Grecian* States; which motion was quashed upon the representation of *Aristides*, *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. And afterwards when *Epialtes* advised them to take an advantage of the distress into which the *Lacedæmonians* were thrown by the terrible Earthquake which layed waste most of the cities of *Laconia*, and by the insurrection of their slaves, *Cimon* supported the interest of *Lacedæmon*, and procured himself to be sent to its succour with 4000 men. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 8.
- 2 τὸ κρινὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διακωλύει] *weaken, and so in effect destroy the common interest of the Grecians.*
- 5 ὅτι ἐπιδείξω, ἄντις] *Because they shewed, that if any one should dispute the matter and insist, that in the former war against the Barbarians some other people were braver men than the Athenians, they would insist upon what was not true.* N. the the transfl. from the singular number. l. 5. to the plural l. 7.
- 8 τριστάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος] *when Greece became divided within itself.*
- 11 εἰκὼν κρινῆ] viz. νίκη or δυνάμει.
- 12 Τρίτῃ δὲ πόλεμῳ] He is speaking of the wars which the *Athenians* had with the other *Grecians*. The first whereof was between them and the *Lacedæmonians* and *Bæotians*, mentioned p. 24. l. 8; The *Peloponnesian* war p. 24. l. 18. is the second; the *Sicilian* (tho' it is usually reckoned a part of the *Peloponnesian*) the third.
- 13 ἀνίπσις τε καὶ δεινός] *terrible in it's consequences and contrary to all our hopes and expectations*, the *Athenians* losing in it their best Generals, Fleets and Armies; which losses drew after them the ruin of *Athens* itself. *Sian*. V. i. p. 423. And this seems the most obvious and true reason why this expression is here used; tho' by an Oratorical turn another is assigned l. 23.
- 14 τελευτήσαντες ὧν δὲ κῆνται] *tho' they died in Sicily, yet the bodies of the dead might be, as they usually were, reduced to ashes, in order to be conveyed to their Relations and interred at home; or at least a Cenotaphium might be erected for them.* *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 102.
- 25 ὑπὲρ τῆς Λιοντίνων] The quarrel in *Sicily* between *Syracuse* and *Leontium* began about 5 years before the peace concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*. Those cities formed their confederacies in order to carry on a vigorous war: And the *Leontines* on pretence of consanguinity (being originally of *Chalcidic*, an *Athenian* colony) and antient alliances

25 alliances, drew over the *Athenians* to their party. And the *Athenians* were glad to have a footing in the island upon any terms, both to hinder the transporting of corn from thence to *Peloponnesus*, and to try if there were any possibility of subduing it for themselves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 362. After the expedition against *Melos* they engaged in the war in earnest. *Nicias* the chief commander carried the victory in some actions against the *Syracusans*, and gained ground in the island, and was upon the point of carrying the city itself by siege; but *Gylippus* arriving with succours from *Lacedæmon*, a surprising turn was given to the affair; and by repeated losses in several engagements the *Athenians* were forced to raise the siege, with the loss of all their shipping; and all the surviving soldiers being obliged to surrender Prisoners at discretion, were used with great hardships, and at length sold for slaves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 399 — 423. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 8. c. 1. §. 5. &c.

18 ἡ δὲ δυνάμειν αὐτοῖς ὑπερβαίνει] tho' the *Athenians* did send supplies according to the request of *Nicias*, yet they unfortunately came too late, *Nicias* himself having been defeated the day before, as the supplies were the day after. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 412.

19 ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c.] ἵκανον ἔχουσιν for ἵκανῶν. *Whose moderation and courage our very enemies are more ready to praise, than other people are apt to do that of their friends.* This sentence is much embarrassed: the literal and common version *quorum hostes* — *majorem temperantiæ virtutisque laudem, quam amici aliorum habent* is not intelligible in the last part; and the former part is contrary to *Thucydides's* account, who represents the behaviour of the *Athenian's* Enemies on this occasion to have been excessively insolent and cruel B. 8. — Or it may be, ὧν (viz. δι' ὧν) οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c. by which misfortune our enemies gained (unjustly) a greater reputation for their moderation and courage, that the friends of the other party, i. e. than We, who out of a generous principle of friendship engaged in their defence.

21 ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς κατὰ Ἑλλάσποντον, μὴ μὲν ἡττήθη &c.] The great losses which the *Athenians* sustained in the *Sicilian* war, were followed by the revolt of several places towards the *Hellepont*. The *Athenians* for the recovery thereof sent out as good a fleet as they could equip; which under the command of *Thrasylus* and *Thrasylbulus*, fell in with *Mindarus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and defeated him at *Cynos Sema*: and not long after they gave the *Lacedæmonians* a second defeat near *Abydus*, whereby they not only recovered their



their own Gallies, but took thirty belonging to the *Enemy*. But the most decisive blow was struck by *Alcibiades* before the port of *Cyzicus*, whereby the *Athenians* took all the enemies ships, secured to themselves the *Hellespont*, and drove the *Lacedæmonians* out of all the other seas. *Stan. V. 1. p. 425—431.*

22 πᾶσις τῆς τῶν πολέμων ἰόντες ναῦς, πᾶς ὃς ἄλλας νικῶντες.] making themselves masters of all the ships, which the enemy had remaining, having before that time taken and destroyed many more.

- 26 <sup>1</sup> τὸ ὅς τοῦτον &c.] The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* was followed by a general defection of their old Allies, and a confederacy of the other *Grecians* against them, having the *Lacedæmonians* at their head: and a league was concluded between the King of *Persia* and the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan. V. 1. p. 424.* This good understanding was afterwards improved by the negotiations of *Lysander*, (see also p. 436.) who taking advantage of *Alcibiades's* absence from the *Athenian* navy gained an intire victory and took 15 *Athenian* Gallies. Upon which *Alcibiades* fell into disgrace, and was succeeded in his command by ten Generals, (the principal whereof was *Conon*.) *Lysander* was succeeded by *Callicratidas*; who pursued *Conon* into the port of *Mitylene* with 170 Sail, took 30 of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions; He soon after took ten more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the *Athenians* had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of 150 sail, he left 50 of the ships to carry on the siege of *Mitylene*, and with 120 met the *Athenians* near the *Arginusæ* (Islands) over-against *Lesboi*. After a long and obstinate fight, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral was sunk, and the rest fled: The *Peloponnesians* lost about 70 sail, and the *Athenians* 25, with most of the men in them. *Stan. V. 1. p. 436, &c. Rollin V. 4. p. 35.*

2 ὥς τοι μῶσιν ἐχθρῶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν] so as, in defiance of every thing that is virtuous, to send an Embassy to negotiate an alliance with our most inveterate enemy.

οἰκίμων γῆ] viz. ἡ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων p. 26. l. 2.

- 11 ἀναξίς τύχης σου ἀναρῶντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης] After the fight at *Arginusæ* the *Athenian* Admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, were accused of suffering their men, who were shipwrecked, to be lost, when they might have saved them: and eight of the ten were condemned, and six of them put to death. *Socrates*, into whose mouth *Plato* has put this expression, was utterly against this usage of the Admirals: and indeed the *Athenians* themselves afterwards repented

26 pented of what they had done. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 38, &c. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 438.

12 πάντων ἐνθάδε] Qu. how could that be, if they were οὐκ ἀναμειβόμενοι οὐκ τῆς θαλάσσης? either their carcases might be taken up afterwards — or their having a Cenotaphium erected for them might answer the supposed purpose of giving rest to their departed shades. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 225. to clear the difficulty *Wesselingus*, by conjecture, inserts the particle εἰ before πάντων.

16 καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔδοξε] and such sentiments were well founded.

17 τῇ δὲ ἡμετέρᾳ αὐτῶν ἀφ' ὧν ἐνεκατέθημεν] referring to those advantages which the *Lacedæmonians* and their confederates made of the civil dissensions of the *Athenians*. *Thuc.* L. 8. c. 95.

19 ἡμῶν δὲ αὐτῶν &c.] The *Athenian* fleet sent out against *Lyfander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, consisted of 180 sail, and several times offered him battle, which *Lyfander* as oft declined; but he afterwards watched his opportunity of beginning his attack when the men were landed, and in the confusion made himself master of the whole Fleet and took 3000 Prisoners. This was followed by the siege of *Athens*, whereby the *Athenians* being reduced to the last extremity were forced to submit to the hard conditions offered by the *Lacedæmonians*; namely, to relinquish their fortresses; to demolish their walls; to deliver up all their ships but 12; to restore their Exiles; to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the *Lacedæmonians*, and to serve them in all their expeditions by sea and land. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 440, &c. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 51, &c.

22 ἂντι ἀρρομένον ἂν] if it should be the fate.

21 οἰκίαις ἡμῶν πόλιν &c.] After the surrender of *Athens*, *Lyfander* quite altered the *Athenian* constitution and erected a Government commonly known by the name of the *Thirty Tyrants*, who having a guard assigned them from *Lacedæmon*, acted without controul in all kinds of violence and oppression: but this not seeming sufficient for their security, they imparted some share of their Authority to 3000 Citizens, and by their means disarmed the rest. This ill usage occasioned multitudes to leave the city and live in exile in different parts of *Greece*. *Thrasylbulus* at the head of a small party began the opposition by seizing upon *Phyle*, a strong castle on the frontiers of *Attica*; His numbers soon increased; and some skirmishes he made with success. The *Thirty* being alarmed thereby, fortified *Eleusis* to serve them upon any sudden exigency, as a place of retreat; and to free themselves from any jealousy the inhabitants thereof might give them, they caused all that were able to bear arms, to pass

- 26 One by One, as it were to compute the strength of the gar-  
rison, and murdered them. — *Thrasylbulus* after this find-  
ing his numbers still encreasing, seized on the *Piræus*, and  
defeated the 30 who attempted to drive Him from thence.  
A truce ensuing *Thrasylbulus* expostulated with his opposers in  
so pathetic a manner, that the 3000 deposed the *Thirty*,  
and invested *Ten* men, one out of each tribe, with the ad-  
ministration : — these pursued the same measures of injustice  
and oppression, and joining counsels with the *Thirty* who had  
retired to *Eleusis*, determined the utter destruction of those  
in the *Piræus*; and in this scheme they were supported and  
aided by the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Athenians* in the *Piræus*  
were routed: and at length, at the instances of *Pausanias* the  
*Lacedæmonian* General, a peace between those in the city and  
those in the *Piræus* was established on condition that every  
man should return home except the *Thirty*, and *oi Eudæmonæ*,  
and the *Ten* more who had commanded in the *Piræus*, and  
if any of the City apprehended themselves to be obnoxious,  
they might be free to retire with them to *Eleusis*: After  
which the Democracy was restored. — But the Faction at  
*Eleusis* still continuing to make fresh attempts against the city  
and that by means of foreign troops, the whole city went  
out against them, and having taken off their commanders,  
the rest were easily brought to an accommodation; and a  
general Amnesty was passed, whereby every man obliged  
himself by oath to bury what was passed in oblivion; which  
being religiously observed, the city was restored to its former  
tranquillity, and its members were again united into one body.  
*Stan.* V. 2. p. 2—21. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 66, &c.
- 23 νοῦνησι] Factions and Seditions are the *diseases* of the body  
Politick.
- 24 ὡς ἀσμένως ἢ οἰκίως] with the greatest readiness and friend-  
liness came to a reconciliation with each other, and were again  
united into one body. see the pathetic speech of *Thrasylbulus*,  
which occasioned this reconciliation. *Xenoph.* L. 2. *ad fi-*  
*nem*.
- 27 ἢ περὶ ἐλπίδα] (*viz.* ἐλπίζομένην) τῆς ἀλλοῦς — contrary to the  
expectations of, or what was hoped for by the other —
- 5 πλιυσθησάντων ὑπ' ἀλλήλων] It has been observed that this sedi-  
tion proved more fatal to the *Athenian* state than the War:  
there were 1400 citizens put to death without hearing,  
and those chiefly men of note and condition; and on the  
whole, as many more lives were consumed in this eight  
month's fury, as in the *Peloponnesian* War of ten years. *Stan.*  
V. 2. p. 22.

- 27 <sup>7</sup> ἀγαπᾶντες ἐνχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις] Men were thought to retain the same affections after death, which they had entertained while alive. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 240. and these honours of prayers and sacrifices, being offered by the friends of the deceased, were thought very acceptable to departed souls, and might therefore answer the purpose here mentioned of reconciling them to each other. Concerning the sacrifices and oblations offered upon this occasion, see *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 235.
- ib. ἀγαπᾶντες αὐτοὺς &c.] *do our utmost to bring them to a reconciliation, praying and sacrificing upon these occasions to those Powers, which have the command and direction over them; inasmuch as we ourselves are reconciled.* Platonis sententia est animis in vitalem hanc prodeuntibus lucem contribui Dæmonem, qui sit actionem inspector omnium, & cogitationum quoque diligens explorator; quique corporeo exolutis nexu assistat semper &c. *Cæli Rhodigin.* Lect. Antiq. L. 2. c. 10.
- 9 καὶ ὁ κακία &c.] *Cic. pro Marcello.* Omnes enim qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo Reipub. misero funestoque compulsi.
- 9 ἀλλήλων ὑψαυτο] *used such violence towards each other.*
- 11 συγγνώμην ἔχομεν] used in a double sense, *are excused for what we did; excuse others περὶ ἧμεν οὐ γὰρ for what we suffered.*
- 13 παντεπλὺς αἰήτης] *Athens* for some time continued very quiet with its neighbours, endeavouring to recover itself from its late confusions in the government at home. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 54.
- 15 οὐκ ἐσθλῶς ἡμύνοντο] *made no inconsiderable or poor defence.*
- 18 πῶς τε ταῦς ἀπελευθέρωται] viz. by the terms of the Peace which *Lysander* gave the *Athenians*.
- ib. ποτ'] viz. the fight at *Salamis*.
- 19 ἀλλ' ὅν] namely, by leaving their city a second time to be ravaged by *Mardonius*, when they might have made very advantageous terms for themselves, by giving up the *Peloponnesians*. *Stan.* V. 1. 255.
- 22 οὕτως ἤκλ.] *formed its domestick administrations agreeably to that principle.* the particle οὕτω seems to bear an emphatical reference to what went before, so *Job.* 4. 6. *fedit ita ut — vel idcirco quia — lassus erat.*
- 24 σφίγγον δ' ἦδη ἔργον ἄνω] *that now was the proper time of executing their scheme of enslaving others.*
- 28 ταῦτ' ἐπεχείλον] *exerted themselves in the execution of this scheme.*
- 2 ἐνδὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων] viz. ἀφ' in the same sense as when used with πολλῶν ἁνθρώπων, or πολλῶν χρίτων.
- 4 ἀφίγγοντες εἰς χεῖρας τ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς] *came to crave the assistance of our city.* The truth was, that the *K. of Persia*, being alarmed by the formidable preparations of the *Lacedæmonians* against him

- 28 him under so able a commander as *Agefilas*, practised with the leading men of the principal cities of *Greece* to take advantage of their disaffection to the absolute and tyrannical government of the *Lacedæmonians*, and to make a diversion at home. The *Thebans* first came into the scheme; and after them the *Argives* and *Corinthians* with their dependents. The *Athenians* though they took no share of the *Persian* money were easily brought to engage in a rupture of this kind. *Stan. V. 2. p. 70.*
- 5 Εἰλίον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι] The *Argives* as we are informed by *Diod. Sic.* challenged to themselves a precedency among the States of *Greece*, on account of the great Antiquity and Wealth of their state.
- ib. τίς θείων] *what was very extraordinary and surprising.*
- 6 ὡς τὸν ὑποκόμις ἀφικέσθαι] *was reduced to such straits and difficulties, namely, by the great successes of Agefilas in Asia.* *Stan. V. 2. p. 53, &c.*
- ib. ὡς περιέσται αὐτῷ] viz. πρὸς ἀγνοίαν αὐτοῦ *so that his affairs received such an unexpected turn, that — Thucyd. more fully l. 1. p. 78, πλάω, ὃ καλῶς δεκνύται βουλόμενον, ὡς τούτων αἰχμῶς περιέσται.*
- 11 τοῦ ἡγετονος ἡγετονίς] *the guardian and protector of the helpless —*
- ib. καὶ δὲ ἐν &c.] *And accordingly at that time, a juncture of such imminent danger to the liberty of Greece, it was unable to barden itself any longer in its determination —*
- 15 αὐτὴ βοηθήσασα] *Athens yet awhile acted only as an auxiliary, see l. 21.*
- 16 μέχρις ἔ] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas.*
- 19 Φαρνάβας] *Conon* ever since his defeat at *Ægospotamos* had lived in voluntary exile; and during that time made it his business to ingratiate himself with the *Persians*, in hopes, by them, to gain an opportunity of retrieving the misfortunes of his country. And it was chiefly by his advice that the confederacy against the *Lacedæmonians* was spirited up. But the most signal service which he did his country, was by obtaining a joint command of the *Persian* fleet together with *Pharnabazus*, and thereby defeating the *Lacedæmonians* near *Cnidus*. *Conon* followed this blow by making a descent upon the maritime towns of *Laconia*, and ravaging the country, *Stan. V. 2. p. 67—81.*
- 19 ὁμολογούντως ἴσως] agreeably hereunto *Nepos*, observes in his life of *Conon*, *neque vero non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agefilaum Asiam Tauro tenus Regi fuisse erepturum.*
- ib. τευχισμὸν καὶ ναπησισμὸν] after the foremention'd achievements *Conon* sailed home, and, with the money, which he

28 he had procured from the *Persian* court, repaired the fortifications and rebuilt the walls of *Athens*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 81.

20 ἐκδιέκρινεν ἢ πόλεμον] *expecting to be attacked*—

21 πολέμῳ] *to declare war as a principal*; which the *Athenians* do not seem to have done, till the sending out *Thrasylbulus* to secure the islands of the *Ægean* sea in the interest of the *Athenians*; which had thrown off the *Lacedæmonian* yoke immediately after *Conon's* victory at *Cnidus*; from which time both *Diodorus Siculus* and *Xenophon* date the fall of the *Lacedæmonian* empire at sea. The expedition of *Thrasylbulus* was about three years afterwards.

ib. ὑπὲρ Πάριον] *Parus* was an Island in the *Ægean* sea, one of those called *Cyclades*; and was more considerable for its wealth and power than for its extent. What was the particular case of the *Parians* here referred to, is not said either by *Diodorus Sic.* or *Xenophon*. This island, tho' immediately after the retreat of *Darius* it baffled the attack of *Miltiades*, yet afterwards became dependent upon *Athens*, and had its polity regulated upon the *Athenian* plan; which, after *Lyfander's* victory, gave place to that of *Lacedæmon*. *Conon*, as has been already observed, after his victory at *Cnidus* went round the isles of the *Ægean* sea and expelled from thence the *Lacedæmonian* Governours; which an *Athenian* might well call engaging in their defence ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. This passage more probably refers to something which gave immediate occasion either to the expedition of *Thrasylbulus*, or *Cabrias*; the latter of which is said to have gained a signal victory over the *Lacedæmonian* fleet between the islands *Naxos* and *Parus*. *Diod. Sic.* L. 15. and *Xenoph.* *Ελλην.* L. 5.

24 ἐξήντη] *demanded to have given up to him*.

29 ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις &c.] viz. in the 20th year of the *Peloponnesian* war they agreed to give up all the places, which had been held by the K. of *Persia* or by his ancestors; which was in effect to make him master of the greatest part of *Greece*. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 8. c. 2. and afterwards by the negotiation of *Antalcidas* they proposed to give up the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 82.

2 ἡ μίξις συμμοχλίου] *as the condition of his continuing his alliance*; Or, *if it was expected that he should continue it*.

4 τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμοχλίων ἰψόδοτον] *He was mistaken in the rest of the allies*.

6 Καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωταί] *Xenophon* relates that they all were as much averse to a peace upon those terms, as the *Athenians*.

10 πρὸς ἡλιεῖαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν] *this principle of generosity and freedom*.

11 ἀμιχρῶς] *without any mixture*.

29 <sup>12</sup> ὁ γὰρ Πίλοπος, ὃν Κἀδμος, ὃν Αἰγυπτιὸς καὶ Δαναὸς] This is said with respect to the people mentioned l. 4. *Pelops* was son of *Tantalus* K. of *Sipylus* in *Pbrygia*: having been worsted in war by *Hus* he fled for refuge to *Oenomaus* K. of *Pisa* in *Elis*; where he succeeded him in the Kingdom by marrying his daughter *Hippodamia*: by her he had a numerous issue, by whose marriages and a reign of 58 years, he got footing in most parts of the peninsula, calling it from himself *Peloponnesus*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 31. *Aegyptus* and *Danaus* were two Brothers; the latter upon account of ill usage fled into *Peloponnesus*, and seized the Kingdom of *Argos*; *Aegyptus* followed him thither; whose son *Lyncus* succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 25. *Cadmus* is well known to have come from *Phœnicia*, and to have fixed the seat of his power and dominion at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 121.

11 ἀμχαῖς ἤ Βαρβαρίαι] see *Peric.* p. 3. l. 8.

15 ἐντίθημι] is firmly rivetted and incorporated with —

19 ἐλθόντες ὡς πύρρον] being reduced to the same circumstances and deserted by the rest of the *Grecians*.

ib. τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσχυρίᾳ] viz. by *Lysander*.

21 πῶς ἡμῖν ἔστιν &c.] see *Chronol. Tab.* 3618.

22 ἀπηλαγχόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas*. The *Athenians* were harassed on all sides by a kind of piratical war without bringing things to a general issue, sometimes infested by the people of *Agina*, then insulted by some of the other Islanders, and then by the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan.* V. 5. p. 89.

ib. ὅπως ἀγαπητὸς ἀπηλάσσοιτο] were no less glad to get rid of the war. For the *Lacedæmonians* had more garrisons than they could maintain, saw their confederates revolting from them, and were, as most of the other *Grecian* states were, drained of their men and money. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 89.

24 ὡς Κερειῶν χερσὶν ἐκείνων δαχτυλίαι] Soon after the confederacy was formed against the *Lacedæmonians*, a battle was fought in the territories of *Corinth*, wherein the *Lacedæmonian* allies were almost entirely routed; but the *Lacedæmonians* themselves maintained their ground, and pressed so hard upon the *Athenians*, who were directly opposite to them, that they recovered the day and beat the *Athenians* with the loss only of eight men. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 77. which makes it probable that the defeat was occasioned, as is here intimated, by their *δαχτυλίαι* having a great disadvantage in the ground.

30 <sup>1</sup> ὡς Λεχαιῶν πεδοναία] *Lechaum* was a haven belonging to and adjoining to *Corinth*. — The more wealthy part of the *Corinthians* soon grew tired of the war against the *Lacedæmonians* because the chief seat of it lay in their territories, and were

were inclinable to a peace: This was opposed by the magistrates and others in the *Athenian* interest, by whose contrivance a massacre was made of several of the principal inhabitants: They who escaped, managed so as to let a party of the *Lacedæmonians* into *Lechæum*, who killed several of the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Boeotians*.

2 ἀποσπώντες ἐκ τῆς θηλάτης] first by *Conon*, and afterwards by *Ipbicrates*.

10 μαινημένους — πάλ' ἄνδρα] N. the difference of number.

13 ἄκοντος κήχη] viz. τύχη yielding to the stroke of adverse fortune; Or, γνώμη yielding out of cowardice.

17 διαμειβόμενος] I am obliged in justice to.

ib. ἐπίσηκτον] solemnly enjoined us to —

22 Ω πωίδης &c.] *Demetrius Phalereus* cites this passage, as an instance of the great force which the *Proseporæia* has in Oratory.

ib. ἐστὶ πατέρων] viz. ἡσ.

3 I 1 τὸς ἐπόμενος] viz. ἐπόμενος, posterity.

3 ἀρχαίων] *Hom. I. ζ. 208.* μοι μὲν πάλ' ἐπίσηκτον

ἄνδρες ἀρχαίων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄλλων

Μηδὲ γένος πατέρων ἀρχαίων —

7 τῶν] sc. σφάγγων viz. ἀρετῆς p. 31. l. 7.

9 κήχῃ φέρει τὴν κικνημένον] brings with it any thing upon which a man can with reason value himself, ἐφ' ᾧ τις κικνησθήσεται; the word κήχῃς is here opposed to πρὸς αἰσχρῶν: in l. 11. it is used in the common sense.

20 καὶ ὑμῶν κακότητος] viz. ἡσ.

25 μὴ δὲ ἑαυτὸν &c.] *Hom. II. ζ. 446. de Heftore.*

Διότ' ἄνδρες πατρὸς τε μέγα κλέος ἢδ' ἐμὸν αὐτῷ.

32 I 1 ἔσται γὰρ πρὸς γέντων ἐκγονοῖς (ἐπὶ) κλέος θνητῶν] for it is a noble treasure to Children to have the honours of their Ancesters to inherit.

7 ἐδὲν ὑμῶν κακότητος] alluding to the opinion that souls departed retained the same affections in the regions below, as when alive. thus *Dido* is represented *Æneid. B. 6. v. 467. Torva tuens* — solo fixos oculos averſa tenens, when *Æneas* spake to her; agreeably to the example of *Ajax's* behaviour towards *Ulysses* *Odys. λ. 592.*

9 ἀ καὶ παρεμυθησάμην] supply φάμι ὥτως παρεμυθησάμην or παρεμυθησάμην. or from l. 8. τὸτο ἀνέειπεν.

11 ἐκκαύουσαν] join with them in their lamentations; thereby aggravating their grief.

15 ἢ γὰρ ἀθανάτους &c.] *Cic. de Amic.* Nisi enim (quod ille minime optabat) immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non est adeptus, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam &c. *Et Sall. B. Jug.* Neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni, honestique vitam exigerent.



- 18 καὶ φρονίως] viz. ἡ (ἀνταρραβήτου ἀδελφῆς) φρονία — 5  
 22 καὶ δὲ ὑπότινος ἐστὶν] viz. γένους, ἀλλὰ (καὶ) ἀδελφῆς &c.  
 33 1 Μὲν δὲ ἄλλως] Many names are cited for the Author of this  
 prudential maxim. see *Erasmi Dialogis*, Ne quis nimis.  
 2 ὅτι γὰρ ἀσπίς &c.] *Cic. Parad.* vi. Nemo potest non beatissimus  
 esse, qui est totus aptus ex se, quique in se uno sua  
 ponit omnia: Cui spes omnis et ratio et cogitatio pendet ex  
 fortunâ, huic nihil potest esse certi.  
 7 ὅτι, γυμνασίῳ &c.] *Cicero Tusc. Disp.* B. 5. renders the  
 passage as if it stood thus, ὅτι γυμνασίῳ καὶ ἀσπιδασκείῳ  
 γυμνασίῳ, τῇ μάχῃ παίδων, πᾶσι &c. hic, & nascentibus  
 & cadentibus cum reliquis commodis, tum maxime liberis,  
 parebit &c. and then adds, Ex hoc Platonis quasi quodam  
 sancto augustoque fonte nostra omnis manabit tractio.  
 10 ταῦτα δὲ &c.] *Hom. Il.* 2. 210.  
 ταῦτα τοι γένῃσι πὶ τῇ αἵματι δόχμον ἄνω.  
 19 ἀφ' οὗ & εἰς μετέωρος] supply φρονίως —  
 34 5 ἐπιμειλίῃσιν] N. the transition from the plural to the singu-  
 lar ἐπιμειλίῃσιν l. 7.  
 ib. τὸς μὲν παιδίσκας κοροῖας, τοὺς δὲ νεοτροφῶντας ἀλίας] It was  
 one of *Solon's* laws, that the Parents and Children of such as  
 were cut off in war should be taken care of: If Parents were  
 killed, their children were put to school at the publick  
 charge; and when come to maturity of age, were presented  
 with a whole suit of Armour, and settled every one in his  
 respective calling, and honoured with the best seats in all  
 publick places: — And in general, the care of the Publick  
 was extended to the children of all such as had been eminent-  
 ly serviceable to the Publick. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 138.  
 V. 2. p. 119, 275, 346.  
 18 ἀρχὴ γὰρ μέγιστη ἐστὶν] viz. the *Archons*; more especially the  
 Πόλις ἀρχὴ. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 77.  
 ib. φιλαέλειαν — ὅτις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει μὴ ἀδινῶνται] Such as had re-  
 ceived the honour of any privilege from the city of *Athens*  
 were under its more particular care and protection; and the  
 injuries done them, were resented as publick affronts to the  
 commonwealth; inasmuch that whosoever did affront, strike,  
 or speak ill of any such person, was by the Law declared *In-*  
*famous*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 199.  
 20 ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖοι] viz. in the *Prytaneum*. The being enter-  
 tained at the publick expence was a compliment occasionally  
 paid in consideration of services done to the Publick, and was  
 reputed one of the highest honours at *Athens*. In what man-  
 ner or under what regulation this publick maintenance was  
 exhibited does not appear. In general, there seems to have  
 been a publick Table kept for the *Prytanes*, or the standing  
 Committee of the Council of 500 for managing affairs of  
 State.

- 34 State: Their common fare is said to have been frugal enough; consisting of a sort of cakes or puddings called *μυζα*. Upon holidays they had an allowance of bread: and as for flesh, the tenths of all the bellies of animals offered in sacrifice were always reserved for them. See *Archæol.* V. 3. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 119. Tho' it should seem from some bantering expressions of *Aristophanes*, that the ordinary diet was not always the most frugal, nor bestowed merely in consideration of publick services. But, that the publick provision in general was moderate, we may collect from what was paid to the Outpensioners, or such as had been disabled in the wars; which was more or less, according to the exigency of publick affairs, and the circumstances of particular persons; sometimes 3 *Oboli* (or almost 4d.) sometimes 2 *Oboli* (or a little more than 2d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) and sometimes 1 *Obolus* (or 1d. *qu.*) a day; and this on supposition that they had not a yearly estate of three Attick *Mina* (or 9l. 13s. 9d.) In *Demosthenes's* time the *συντίμων* or subsistence money of a common foot soldier was two *Oboli*, per diem. Phil. 1. §. 10. The whole pay of a foot Soldier four *Oboli*. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 8, 9.
- ib. *αεθρομυμίζον ἢ μάλιστα ἄλλων αὐτοῖς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἡϊσθῶν*] being desirous to have them rendered as little sensible as may be, of their Orphan-state —
- 23 *ὡς ἀνδρὲς τριῶν*] to the rank of manhood. viz. at the age of 20 years.
- 24 *παισιλῆς ἡγεμῖσμον*] see p. 11. l. 12. and p. 34. l. 5. At the time of performing this ceremony the following oath was taken by the *Ephebi*. "I'll never do any thing to disgrace  
 "this armour; I'll never fly from my post, nor desert my  
 "General; but I'll fight for my country and religion, in an  
 "army or single combat; I'll never be the cause of weak-  
 "ning or endamaging my country, and if it be my fortune  
 "to sail on the seas, my country thinking fit to send me in a  
 "colony, I'll willingly acquiesce, and enjoy that land which  
 "is allotted me. I'll firmly adhere to the present constitu-  
 "tion of affairs, and whatsoever enactments the People shall  
 "please to pass, I'll see no body violate or pervert them;  
 "but I'll either singly by myself, or by joining with others,  
 "endeavour to revenge them. I'll conform to my country's  
 "Religion. If occasion require, I'll lay down my life for  
 "my native country. My endeavours to extend the domi-  
 "nions of *Athena* shall never cease, while there are wheat,  
 "barley, vineyards, and olive-trees without its limits. *Ar-  
 chæol.* V. 1. p. 151.
- 35 *ἐν τῇ πατρὶς οἰκῇ*] to take possession of their paternal house and estate. — It is probable, and this expression seems to imply, that this Ceremony was not observed, at least with those

35 those particular marks of solemnity, with regard to all the  
*Askenians* indiscriminately, but only to young persons of su-  
 perior fortunes.

5 *quod in hoc diebus*] Cicero asserts that this very Oration of Plato was recited publicly upon every return of this anniversary solemnity (I suppose in his time.) *Orator* §. 151. *Platonis Oratio, qua mos est Athenis laudari in contione eos, qui sint in praeiliis interfecisti, — sic probata est, ut tam quantum, ut Ixin, illo die recitari necesse sit.*

ib. *de rebus sepulchris*] The care of funeral rites among the *Grecians* was looked upon as a debt so sacred, that such as neglected its discharge it, were thought accursed: hence they were called *Μησιν, ὀπίσθιοι, ὀπίσθιοι, Ἰσχυρ, ἰσχυρ* &c: and, among the *Romans*, *justi*; all which words imply an inviolable obligation upon the Living to take care of the obsequies of the Dead. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 161.

7 *ἀγωνισμοὶ* *ὑποδείκνυται* *ὡς* *ἐκ* *τῶν* *ἀγωνισμῶν* *αὐτῶν*] These Games were not intended merely to serve the purpose of amusement to idle persons, but principally to raise a spirit of emulation in all valuable accomplishments; for the particulars here referred to were constant parts of a liberal education in Greece. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 227. *Roth.* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. 6. 10.

1b. ~~schools; nations~~] of all the liberal Arts, particularly Oratory and Poetry; nor was the practical part of Musick excepted: for the more solemn performance whereof *Pericles* built a magnificent *Odium*, or Musick-Theatre at *Athens*.

[illegible]

363 [over] but about 111

4. 6. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845

6 πολίτικος] alluding to his love of politics, which Socrates  
 discusses at the beginning of the Dialogue: p. 42: 1. 5 &c.

# NOTES UPON L Y S I A S.

37<sup>3</sup> **Ε** ἐδίδον ἡμεῶν] viz. διδόντων) at a short warning of  
a few days. so l. 7. ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα, viz. χρόνος διδόντες.

4 τοῖς ἡμετέροις] see *Thucyd.* p. 2. l. 1.

38<sup>2</sup> ἀπειροί] see *Thuc.* p. 7. l. 15.

6 μνηστὴρ πρὸς τοῖς Φοῖβος δαίμον] taking my account from tradi-  
tion. The Grecians for a long while followed only their first  
guide Tradition, in tracing back the footsteps of former ages.  
Some fix the Attick æra at the flood of Ogyges. Plutarch  
makes an excuse for beginning so high as Theseus: Dionysius  
Halicarn. says there was nothing certain before the Trojan  
war: Varro calls the beginning of the Olympiads the Histo-  
rical Times: Pliny gives little credit to all that is writ of  
Greece before the reign of Cyrus; and Others place the most  
antient Historians but a little before the descent of the Per-  
sian. Stan. Pref. V. 1.

7 οἰαῖς] viz. those solemn Odes, which were sung in honour  
of the victors in the Olympick games, and other great men  
in the more august feasts and ceremonies of Religion, parti-  
cularly at the festival of Panathenæa. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 420.  
*Rollin.* V. 4.

8 τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων μνησμοῖς] in the commemorations of brave men,  
whose praises were upon solemn occasions celebrated in set  
harangues: this expression relates to profaic compositions, as  
the foregoing does to poetical.

9 ὁλοῖς τοῖς μυστοῖς] viz. ἀστυγίοις) upon such solemn occasions  
as these.

10 Ἀμαζόνες] Some place the country of the Amazons in Scythia,  
(and agreeably thereunto make Thermodon a river in Scythia,  
because the Amazons are by All agreed to have dwelt near  
it.) Others in Cappadocia. Herodotus B. 4. c. 100. &c. gives  
an account how a great many of them came to be transported  
from their original settlements of Cappadocia into Scythia.  
— The Amazonian war was occasioned by Theseus's taking  
a romantick voyage into the Euxine sea, and bringing off  
from among the Amazons his wife Antiope, or, as others call-  
ed



# NOTES

## UPON

## L Y S I A S.

37 <sup>3</sup> *Εἰς ἄλγος ἔρχομαι* viz. *ἀποδύωμαι* at a short warning of a few days. so *1. 7. ἔξω γὰρ ἔχω* *ἔξω ἀποδύωμαι*.

4 *τοῖς ἱεροῖς* [see *Thuc.* p. 2. 1. 1.

38 <sup>2</sup> *ἀνέροι* [see *Thuc.* p. 7. 1. 15.

6 *μνηστὴρ παρὰ τοῖς Φοῖβος ἀνδράσιν* taking my account from tradition. The Grecians for a long while followed only their first guide Tradition, in tracing back the footsteps of former ages. Some fix the *Attick* æra at the flood of *Ogyges*. *Plutarch* makes an excuse for beginning so high as *Theseus*: *Dionysius Halicarn.* says there was nothing certain before the *Trojan* war: *Varro* calls the beginning of the *Olympiads* the *Historical Times*: *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is writ of *Greece* before the reign of *Cyrus*; and Others place the most ancient *Historians* but a little before the descent of the *Perſian*. *Stan.* Pref. V. 1.

7 *ὕμνοι* viz. those solemn Odes, which were sung in honour of the victors in the *Olympick* games, and other great men in the more august feasts and ceremonies of Religion, particularly at the festival of *Panathenæa*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 420. *Rallin.* V. 4.

8 *μῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μνηστῆρας* in the commemorations of brave men, whose praises were upon solemn occasions celebrated in set harangues: this expression relates to profaic compositions, as the foregoing does to poetical.

9 *καί τις τις μῆστῆρας* viz. *ἀνδρῶν μῆς* upon such solemn occasions as these.

10 *Ἀμαζόνες* Some place the country of the *Amazons* in *Scythia*, (and agreeably thereunto make *Thermadon* a river in *Scythia*, because the *Amazons* are by All agreed to have dwelt near it) Others in *Cappadocia*. *Herodotus* B. 4. c. 100, &c. gives an account how a great many of them came to be transported from their original settlements of *Cappadocia* into *Scythia*. — The *Amazonian* war was occasioned by *Theseus's* taking a romantick voyage into the *Euxine* sea, and bringing off from among the *Amazons* his wife *Antiope*, or, as others called

and her *Hippolyte*. These warlike women upon this came from their habitations, and gave the *Albanians* battle. But this war is so differently related, that some have fancied that there were two expeditions of that kind, and that *Antiope* and *Hippolyte* were two different women: *Istan. V. m. p. 150.*

19 *Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰππολύτης*] as all other warlike people were supposed to derive their pedigree from *Mars*.

23 *παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἀγῶνα* happening contrary to their expectation to meet with brave men.

1b. *ἀνδρας ἀνδράων τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ φύσει*] they had upon this occasion souls befitting their sex i. e. they showed forth no more courage than what might be expected from the female sex.

24 *τὸ ἐκέρχον τὴν δόξαν* & *ἀνδρείαν λαβόντων*] and gaining a reputation quite contrary to what they had hitherto maintained i. e. losing their reputation for courage.

39 *Ἰ μὲντοι οὐ τῶν κινδύνων ἢ οὐ τῶν συμφορῶν ἴδεναι ἀνὰ γυναικί*] showed themselves to be Women more from the dangers (i. e. the manner in which they behaved under dangers) than by their bodies, which being *ἀνδρῶν* *σώματα* p. 38. l. 12. looked as terrible as those of any Men could do.

3 *ἐπὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι*] viz. *περὶ τὴν μελλούσαν* with regard to their future conduct.

11 *Ἀδύνατον* &c.] see *Plat. p. 20. l. 3.*

15 *τὰς αἰσῶν* & *κατασκευῶν*] The duties belonging to the Dead were thought of greater importance, and the neglect of them to be a crime of a blacker character than those required by the Living. And even among the most Barbarous nations it was reckoned an unpardonable crime to defraud them of any due respect; it was thought a sign of a cruel and inhuman disposition to prosecute revenge beyond the grave, and a great propitiation to the infernal Gods (as also to *πῶς ἂν οὐκ* p. 39. l. 15.): and such as would call up certain vengeance, to neglect any opportunity, which offered of paying this debt of burial to any carcase, which a person accidentally met with, even tho' a stranger. *Arisehol. V. 20. p. 169, 162.*

23 *ἢ ἡμετέρας*] see *Plato p. 35. l. 5.*

40 *ἡμετέρας* i. e. *ἡμετέρας*] the hopes, which all men may reasonably indulge, of having their funeral rites duly performed. — or, of being relieved by the assistance of those common friends to the distressed, the *Albanians*. — or the common hope of resting after Death, to which rest Interment was necessary.

11 *ἡμετέρας* i. e. *ἡμετέρας*] *quoniam carnis, cineris inhumataque turba est* &c. *Virg. Aen. 1. 134. &c.*

11 *ἡμετέρας* i. e. *ἡμετέρας*] *Gentians* in the *Grecian* games were said *ἀνδρῶν* &c. the *ἡμετέρας* i. e. *ἡμετέρας*, which was thus called in respect of the *ἡμετέρας* who received it, catching

40 catching it or taking it from the top of the goal after the *pasporta* or judges had passed sentence that it belonged to the victor: and in respect of the *pasporta* the prize was called *pasporta*. So *Phil.* 3. 18: see *Hammond*. 1 *Cor.* 9. 24.

11 *ἐν τῇ σάρτι*] viz. the bodies of the slain.

13 *ἐν τῇ σάρτι*] viz. *σπάρτα*.

16 *ἐν τῇ σάρτι*] a Hero is celebrated as *Herrad*: could not be supposed to die a common death; much less would it be proper for the Orator to hint at either of the only terminate accounts what became of him; viz. that he fell a sacrifice to the jealous resentment of his mistress by poison, or that he burnt himself in a fit of phrenzy: and therefore by this ambiguous expression he has left it to his Audience to suppose him to have been honoured with a sort of assumption into the assembly of the Gods, in consideration of his beneficial services to mankind. He is supposed to have died about the 54 year of his age. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 37.

ib. *ἐν τῇ σάρτι*] about sixty in number. See *Plato* p. 80. l. 3.

ib. *Esfar*]. The relation between *Eurystheus* and *Heracles* is settled in this manner. — *Perseus* K. of *Mycenæ* left several sons behind him: among others *Alceus*, *Sthenelus* and *Elefryon*. *Alceus* was the Father of *Amphitryon*; *Sthenelus* of *Eurystheus*; and *Elefryon* of *Alcmena*. *Amphitryon* married *Alcmena*, upon whom *Jupiter* begat *Hercules*. — *Perseus* was succeeded in his Kingdom successively by *Elefryon*, *Sthenelus* and *Eurystheus*. *Rolfin.* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 4.

18 *ἐν τῇ σάρτι*] viz. this cruel usage of *Eurystheus*.

19 *ἐν τῇ σάρτι*] Temples, Statues, and Altars of the Deities were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting offenders was granted; so that if any malefactor fled to them it was accounted an act of sacrilege to force him thence; not that all Temples were sanctuaries, but only such as received that privilege from the manner of consecration. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 198, 201. But this probably was the case in aftertimes; when the number of Temples &c. was so much increased, as must have, without such limitation, entirely obstructed the execution of justice upon malefactors. This Altar at *Albani*, whether it was now erected by the *Heracleids*, or whether it was one that they took refuge at, became one of the most celebrated *Asyla* of antiquity. See *Hospinian.* de *Templis*. B. 1. c. 13.

41 *ἐν τῇ σάρτι*] for upon the Descent of the *Heracleids* into *Peloponnesus*, the whole government of all the several kingdoms of it, excepting *Arcadia*, was transferred into new hands; and many of the inhabitants were likewise obliged to quit their settlements and remove into different parts. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 58, &c.



- 41 *ἐκείνους τὸν αἶμα ἰσχυρὰ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἰσχυρὰ ἑαίρων*] This manifestly refers to the ingratitude of the Descendants of the *Heracidae* afterwards; who, notwithstanding the assistance they had received from the *Athenians* in gaining possession of *Peloponnesus*, invaded *Attica* on pretence that the *Athenians* received the fugitives which they had driven from thence. *Stan.* V. I. p. 154. tho' from the wording of it viz. p. 40. l. 16. αἱ γυναῖκες and 41 l. 5. αὐτὸς παῖδας one would think that *Lyfias* intimated that the same individual persons, who had been so much obliged in their childhood, proved ungrateful when arrived to years of maturity.
- 13 *ἡρώων δ' ἰσχυρὰ*] Both sides were so high spirited —
- 15 αἱ περὶ *Εὐρυκλῆος* (viz. *πατριάρχης*) *Εὐρυκλῆος* and his Party.
- 42 *ἑκτὸς αὐτῶν ἡμετέρας τοῦ βίου*] Besides the twelve Labours which *Hercules* performed chiefly at the instigation of *Euryklaus*, there were several others which he undertook of himself; particularly, in protecting the weak, and repressing violence, subduing the most notorious robbers, murderers and tyrants, which, like so many *Pests* and *Monsters* of mankind, at that time infested the world; and this perhaps was the real import of his famous twelve Labours likewise. *Stan.* V. I. p. 34.
- 3 *οὐκ αὖτε ἱεραρχήσαντες*] particularly by keeping the crown from *Hercules*, which by right of primogeniture belonged to Him. see p. 40. l. 16.
- 7 *Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τετα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀποβύοντες*] And indeed there were many circumstances that favoured or contributed to form this disposition in our ancestors.
- 9 *Ἐξ οὗ*] the beginning of our political life is, e. the first foundation of our state.
- 10 *ὅτι δὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος*] — see *Thucyd.* p. 6. l. 24.
- 13 *ὅτι ἐκείνους τοῖς χρόνοις*] — Not certainly at the first original of the *Athenian* people; for a long time they were governed by Kings. *Thucyd.* traced out the plan of Popular government, and began the execution of it; tho' it could scarce be called properly a popular state 'till the establishment of the nine *Archons*. It was *Solon* after all, who confirmed this sort of Government by his wise laws. *Rollin* V. 4. p. 299.
- 10 *ἐκείνους τοῖς χρόνοις*] particularly in the case of *Plébrotes*, and his sons. *Stan.* V. I. 192, and 200. and afterwards of *Isagoras*. p. 204.
- 15 *πᾶντι ἐλευθερίᾳ ὁρμήναι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος*] that the liberty of all was likely to be the strongest cement of civil union and agreement —
- 16 *ἡγοῦντο δ' ἀλλήλους τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ ἐλπίδα προσημαίνοντες.*] And having made the hopes attending the dangers common to each other

42 *older respectively*, i. e. And thus each man finding himself to have a common interest to support by engaging in the dangers—  
23 *πρὸς τὴν ἐξῆς*] influenced by principles suitable to their noble birth.

43 3 *μοῖσι—δε*] viz. at Marathon by Land, against the forces of Darius; and at Artemisium at Sea, against the navy of Xerxes.

10 *ἐπιστάτας τῆς ἑκάστης*] It does not appear that the Grecian States were divided in their several sentiments upon this occasion; tho' they remarkably were so afterwards, before the fight at Salamis. The Athenian Generals indeed were not unanimous in their resolutions; tho' at length they all yielded to Miltiades. Herodot. L. 6. c. 109.

19 *ὁ λοισμὸς ἀνδρῶν*] not computing the danger, which must have discouraged them from attacking such superiority of numbers.

21 *λόγῳ*] referring to *λοισμῷ* above.

24 *ἐκ ἀνέμεναι ἐνδοξάων*] not to wait for the good effects of their solicitation; for in fact they did send to Lacedæmon. Herod. L. 6. c. 106. *ἐν βουλήσιν*, not to wait till they actually sent supplies: for supplies were sent, tho' too late for the action. *ib.*

44 5 *πῶς μὴ ψυχὰς ἀπορίαις κινῶν*] The sentiment seems to denote no more than that by losing their lives they secured to themselves renown. The expression indeed is very affected and made use of probably for the sake of the Antithesis between *ψυχ.* ἀπορίαις & *μνημ.* ἰδαν. If the meaning be, that "they looked on their Lives as not their own, but their Fame as their own for ever" compare it with *Luke* 16: 12. "If ye have not been faithful in what you are not intitled to keep, how can ye expect the true and lasting happiness to be conferred on You?" *Isocrates* has used a similar expression, *ὥστε ἐν ἀπορίαις ψυχῶν μνημῶν κινῶμεν*. *Platon.* p. 136. *Thucydides* before them both, B. 1. had, *ἐν τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀπορίαις ὥστε ἐν μνημῶν χροῖσιν*.

11 *ὁ φιλοψυχισμὸς*] not entertaining an unseasonable, ill-timed love of their own lives—

12 *τὸς περ ἑαυτοῖς νόμος*] see particularly the oath taken by the Ephēbi, *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 151. *Plat.* 34. 24. and *Lyf.* 53. 13.

13 *παρὰ τὸς ἑαυτοῖς*] If there was any Treaty between Persians and Athenians hereby violated, it was probably that which was entered into immediately after the restoration of *Cleisthenes*. *Strab.* V. 1. p. 205. In other editions it is *παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς καὶ χόροις*, passing over those boundaries whereby nature seemed to have limited the Persian territory, namely, the *Ægean* sea.

- 16 ἔτι μὲν πολλὰ] viz. *ἔτι μὲν with so much expedition.*  
 44 ib. τὸν δὲ κινδύνον ἀντιμετώπιον] i. e. *confronted him with the danger*: this expression occurs again, p. 50. l. 21. In a different sense, the *Perseans* are said; p. 43. l. 11. *ἀντιμετώπιον*, to strike terror, namely by *bringing on the danger*.  
 19 ἄλλοι] *the rest of the Grecians*—  
 ib. ἄλλοι οὐκ εἰς τὸν κινδύνον ἀντιμετώπιον] *were put to any painful apprehensions about the impending danger.*  
 20 αἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες—ἡδύνη] *but the first news they heard brought with it joy for the deliverance of their liberties.*  
 23 ζῆλον δὲ] *is proposed as the model and pattern for their ambition and emulation to copy after*—  
 45 2 κενεφρονίας τῆς Εὐαδίας] *see the debates in Xerxes's council to this purpose. Herodot. L. 7. c. 8, 9, 10, 11. and Stan. V. 1. p. 230. Rollin B. 6. c. 2.*  
 3 ἀντιλαμβάνειν τὴν τιμὴν] *thinking himself and his imperial dignity disgraced by the check that had been given to his father.*  
 4 ἀναγὰς ἀτυχῶν] *unused to misfortunes, and consequently insistent.*  
 5 ἀναγὰς ἀνδρῶν ἀπαθῶν] *having as yet had no experience of the bravery of the men whom he was going to encounter.* referring to the honest counsel given him on this occasion by *Artabanus*, which he rejected with disdain. *Herod. L. 7.*  
 ib. δέκατῃ ἐτρί] i. e. *in the tenth year after the defeat at Marathón*, but in the *fifth* year of his reign. *Rollin V. 3. B. 6: c. 2. §. 2.*  
 6 ἑκατὸν μὲν καὶ ἀγχιόταις ναυσὶν] *a round number for 1207 galleys, all with three banks of oars and intended for fighting. Each vessel carried 200 men, natives of the country which fitted them out; besides 30 more either Persians, Medes, or Sacæ, and in all 277,610 men. The European nations added 120 vessels carrying each 200; in all 24000. Besides these there were small galleys of 30 and 50 oars; transport-ships, victuallers and tenders, to the number of 3000; in each of which supposing 80 men, the amount is 240,000. Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 3.*  
 7 ἐν τῇ θρηάκῃ κενεφρονίας] *In Thrace Xerxes found his land-army, brought by him out of Asia, consisted of 1700,000 foot and 80,000 horse; less than 20,000 to take care of the carriages and camels can't well be supposed: 300,000 joined him after passing the Hellespont; so that all his land-forces amounted to 2,100,000 men. When arrived at Thermopylae his land and sea-forces together made up the number of 2,541,610 men, without including women, servants, sutlers, &c. of which the number was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of souls in Xerxes's expedition amounted to 5,283,220. This is Herodotus's account, in which*

- 45 which *Herodotus* and *Plutarch* agree. *Diogenes Siculus*, *Pliny*, and *Silvan* fall much short of this number in their calculations. *Rollin* *ib.* *Prædix* P. 1. B. 4. p. 334.
- 10 [ὅτι τὸ πλάτος] (viz. *χάσμα*) the breadth was about 7 furlongs or near an *English* mile.
- 13 [ὡς ἂν πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν] *Soll. de Macella B. Jsg.* Omnes asperitates superavadeo ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. and again, Naturam ipsam cæteris imperitantem industria vicebat. *Memph. K. II.* ἡ ἀσπίς μὲν ἡμεῖς δεξιὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς. — and ἡ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀντιπαρα.
- 16 [ἐκείνη μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα] viz. by two bridges of galleys tyed together, and so well anchored that they resisted the winds. *Stan. V. 1.* p. 235. see them described out of *Herodot.* B. 7. c. 33. *Rollin V. 3.* B. 6. c. 2. §. 2.
- ib. [ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὴν Ἀθῶν] *Atbos* is a peninsula of *Macedonia* projecting a great way into the sea: The Isthmus whereby it is joined to the land is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile over. In *Darius's* first expedition, conducted by *Mardonius*, his fleet attempting to double this peninsula, in order to gain the coast of *Macedonia*, was greatly shattered by a tempest to the loss of 300 ships, and 20,000 men. *Xerxes* upon this pretext gave orders for cutting thro' this mountain, and the passage then made was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars pass through it abreast. *Rollin V. 3. ib.*
- 17 [ὅτι τὸν μὲν &c.] The greatest part of *Boeotia* and *Thessaly*, with other petty states, which lay most exposed, declared for the *Persians*: and the *Argives*, partly out of fear, partly out of inveterate hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, held secret intelligence with the enemy. *Stan. V. 1.* p. 235.
- 18 [ἀντιπαρα] *Soll. B. Cæ. ad defendendum* (sc. *ad prohibendam audaciam*) opes minores sunt.
- 21 [ὅτι μὲν τὸ πλάτος] The chief dependance as sea was upon *Athens*; *Themistocles* had by exerting himself increased their navy to near 200 sail; these together with the fleet of the confederates made 280. *Hind. p. 302. Stan. V. p. 237.*
- 22 [ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὴν ἀσπίδα] The number of men dispatched to oppose the *Persians* was 6000, under *Leonidas* one of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings: In this body there were but 300 *Lacedæmonians*; the rest consisting of *Boeotians*, *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Arcadians*, and several other lesser states, who each of them furnished such proportions as they were able to raise in the present exigency, assigning particular captains to their own troops; but *Leonidas* had the command of the whole. *Stan. V. 1. p. 236.*

- 24 *ἡ τῆς πύλης*] The freights of *Thermopylae* were a narrow pass of 25 foot wide, between the mountains, which divided *Theffaly* from the rest of *Greece*. There were in it the remains of a wall with gates to it; which the *Phocians* had formerly built to secure themselves against the incursions of the *Theffalians*: And from these Gates, and some *Hot Baths*, which were at the entrance into the *Pass*, it obtained the name of *Thermopylae*, *Stan. V. 1. p. 236.*
- 46 *Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖτοις τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ*] The fight at and about *Artemisium* continued two days, in both which the *Greeks* suffered very much by reason of the superior number of the Enemy's shipping; but as the Enemy left the sea and the wreck and spoils to the *Greeks*, the victory might be adjudged to them. *Hind. p. 314, 315. Stanyan V. 1. p. 242.*
- 3 *ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεονὸς ψυδίντης &c.*] *Leonidas* maintained his post at *Thermopylae* with great bravery and success for 3 days; But finding himself likely to be attacked in the rear, he gave leave to the rest of the confederates to go off; upon which he was deserted by the rest except 300 *Lacedaemonians* with some *Thebians* and *Thebans*, in all about 1000 men; who, after making a carnage of 20000, were overpowered by numbers. *Hind. p. 311. Stan. V. 1. p. 232. Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.*
- 5 *οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι*] viz. *ἔτελεύτησεν*, for there is no verb in the sentence.
- 13 *ἀλάστωι*] viz. *ἡ πόλις.*
- 19 *ἐξίλιπον &c.*] see *Plato 22. 15. and 23. 9.*
- 47 *οἱ δὲ μέγας καὶ δεινὸς &c.*] *Xerxes* after he had burnt *Athens* marched down toward the sea to act in conjunction with his fleet, which was come to *Phalerus*, an *Athenian Port*. And whilst he was concerting measures with his Officers, the *Grecians* near *Salamis* were much dispirited and divided in their councils; the *Lacedaemonians* and others being for abandoning *Salamis* and making their stand at the *Isthmus*. But by the stratagem of *Themistocles* the engagement was brought on before the *Grecian* fleet separated; and by his conduct, and the courage and skill of the *Athenians*, a compleat victory was obtained. *Hind. p. 321, &c. Stan. V. 1. p. 245, &c.* So that during that season of debate among the *Grecians*, when their divisions in council had nearly proved fatal to them, there is fair room for imagining the scene which is here so oratorically described.
- 6 *ἄνδρας τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖναις*] their wives and children were the prize for which they were to contend. The *Σαλαμῖναι* therefore upon this occasion might be considered as the *βροτῶν* of this glorious contest.

47 9 τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποδείκναι] *because they foresaw it to be, as it were, inevitable*: And therefore being thus prepared for it, the evil of it lessened in their apprehensions.

19 αἰνέουσιν] Before the Grecian armies adventured to join their enemies they endeavoured by prayers, vows, and sacrifices to engage Heaven to their assistance, and sung an Hymn to Mars called Παιὼν ἱμῶσθεος, as that sung to Apollo after a prosperous battle was termed Παιὼν ἱππικῆος. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 76. In *Xen.* K. Π. ζ. p. 482. the Pæan is distinguished from the Hymn to Mars. Κύρος — ἐξῆρχε παιῶνα, συμπήχουσα δὲ πᾶσι ὁ στρατός. Μῆτι δὲ τῷ τῶν Εὐαλίου τοῦ ἀμφοῖν ἱππικῶσθεον — see also *Xenoph.* K. Π. γ. p. 195. *Hutch.* not. Besides Hymns of a religious kind, it has been customary with all armies, as well those of civilized nations as barbarous, at the time of coming to an engagement, to endeavour to strike terror into their enemies, and to encourage their friends, by the shouting repetition of some certain words peculiar to themselves; instances whereof are cited in great variety. *Lippus de militiâ Romanâ*, L. 4. Dial. 11. *Neque frustra antiquitus institutum est, ut signa undique concinerent, clamoremque universi tollerent: quibus rebus et hostes terreri et suos incitari existimaverunt.* *Cæsar de Bell. civil.* L. 3.

48 3 θυσῶν ἀναμνήσεως] *the recital of the sacrifices, which they had formerly offered, such as Chryses makes Il. æ. 40.* — Or, *Vows of future sacrifices*; which is agreeable to *Plutarch*, who informs us, that *Pericles* summoned all the *Grecians* to *Athens* to consult concerning the sacrifices, which they were indebted upon the vows they made to the Gods for the safety of *Greece*, when they fought against the *Barbarians.* *vit. Pericl.*

17 Θιμιστοκλῆα] see his character distinctly drawn. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 281, &c.

18 γυνῶν ἐγκρίματα] *of exquisite wisdom and foresight.*

21 ἀρετῶν τῆς ναυμαχίας ἑλᾶσθαι παρὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας] After their victory at *Salamis*, *Themistocles* and the rest of the commanders of the *Grecian* navy went and exacted contributions of the several Islands which had favoured the *Persians*: And afterwards upon a general rendezvous of the confederates at the *Isthmus*, the Generals were unanimous in their praises of *Themistocles*; and the *Lacedæmonians* themselves gave him marks of extraordinary esteem, carrying him with them to *Lacedæmon*, crowning him with olive, presenting him with a rich chariot, and at his return home conducting him to the confines of their territories with 300 Horse. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 254.

23 τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁμοιοῦσιν τοῖς κινδύνοις] *a happiness great in proportion to the dangers which they had undergone.*

- 49 <sup>5</sup> Πελοποννησίῳ Ἀναρχίῳ τῷ ἰσθμῷ.] All along from the first attempt of *Xerxes*, it was the favorite scheme of the *Lacedæmonians* to place their only confidence in the defence of *Peloponnesus*, and thereby to secure *Latonia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 253. *Hind.* p. 302. With this view, when *Mardonius*, who had been left by *Xerxes* to prosecute the war, invaded *Attica*, and took the city of *Athens* a second time, the *Lacedæmonians* still continued intent upon their old scheme of fortifying the *Isthmus* at *Corinth* by a wall, regardless of the repeated remonstrances of the *Athenians* to march out and face the common danger; till the *Athenians* threatened them to join with the enemy and leave them to shift for themselves. Upon which the *Lacedæmonians* sent a reinforcement of 5000 men besides 7000 *Helots*; and gave the *Athenians* leave to levy 5000 more. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 257, &c. *Hind.* p. 332. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 9.
- 6 ἀγαπώντων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ] contented with the mean thought of securing their lives, regardless how much their honour and reputation would suffer by such conduct.
- 12 οὐτ' ὅλκτοις δύναται χιλίων νῆων] that they (the Barbarians) would not want 1000 ships i. e. they would have enough to make an invasion upon the Coasts of *Peloponnesus*. the sense seems to require a transposition. viz. τούτοις — ἔκαστος.
- 13 ἀνυδαίνως] without his running any hazard either to obtain or preserve it — without striking a blow.
- 17 ἰσοθήσεται ἐπὶ Πλαταιῇς] see *Plato* 23. 9.
- 18 διαδράντων ἡ γὰρ δύναμις τῶν πλοίων συμμέσχηται &c.] The two armies continued near *Platæa* for 11 or 12 days, which were spent only in slight skirmishes and traversing each others motions. The *Grecians* supposing things could not be presently brought to an issue, thought it necessary to remove their camp for the convenience of water; but breaking up in the night, were pretty much dispersed, and some of them missed their way. In the morning *Mardonius*, imputing their disorder to cowardice, pursued them with great violence; and charged their Rear, which consisted chiefly of *Lacedæmonians*. But they being assisted by the *Tegeans* maintained their ground with great slaughter of the Enemy; and some other *Grecian* troops coming up completed the victory. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 261. *Hind.* p. 336. *Rollin*.
- 22 τῶς θεβητικῆς ἡ ἰθακήσεως] the *Thebans* and *Thessalians* sided with the *Persians*, and in a body of 5000 men endeavoured to intercept the *Athenians*, who were making all the haste they could to have a share in the action. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 337. *Rollin*.

- 50 7 [ἴσως δὲ ἑξήκοντα] viz. about 23 years afterwards.  
 10 αἱ δὲ Ἀχαιῆες &c.] The *Æginetians* had always made a considerable figure in Greece for their skill in sea-affairs; and it was chiefly in their bickerings with them that the *Athenians* layed the foundation of their greatness. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 220. They had likewise gained great reputation by their service against the *Persians*, and could ill bear the excessive growth of the *Athenians*, who having defeated them at sea made a descent and blocked up their city. The *Peloponnesians* sent 300 men to it's relief: And the *Corinthians* took this opportunity, whilst the *Athenian* forces were divided betwixt *Ægypt* and *Ægina* to make incursions into *Megaris*, and seized upon the fortrefs of *Geranea*. But the *Athenians* marched out of the city to a man against them under the conduct of *Myronides*. In the first battle the *Corinthians* without reason pretended to have the better: but upon coming to erect a trophy, a second ensued, wherein they were intirely defeated. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 302.
- 12 πολιορκούντων — Ἀίγυπτον] viz. the city *Memphis* in *Ægypt*. see *Plato* 23. 21.
- 13 εἰ ἡλικίας] those who were of age for military service. see *Thucyd.* 3. 1. 14.
- 16 Γεγραμέναι] a fortrefs situate upon the summit of a high hill in the territory of *Megara*, commanding the passage to the *Isthmus*.
- 18 ἔδινον ἐντολμῶσιν μετὰ πικρῶς] had too much spirit and resolution to send for a single man of them —
- 51 10 οἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐκαστοὶ δίδασκον, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων ἐβουλεύοντο] They all betook themselves to their proper business respectively, the young men returning to their former exercises and course of discipline, the aged to consult for the good of the State —
- 17 ἐκδομένῳσι ἔτι] The *Athenian* Empire began soon after the defeat of the *Persians* at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, and continued till the demolition of the walls of *Athens* by *Lysander*, i. e. about 73 years. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 2.
- 19 τοῖς ἑλλήσι τοὺς νόμους δαδόναι] alluding to that earnestness with which the *Lacedæmonians* endeavoured to establish their own model of *Oligarchical* government where-ever they obtained influence.
- 20 ἀναγκάζουσιν] The *Athenians* no less exerted themselves in establishing, and obliged others to use, the *Democratical* form.
- 24 ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ τῶν] (i. e. τῶν) αὐτῶν. see l. 22.
- 52 1 εἰς αὐτὴν τῇ χρόνῳ] during that period of time. — After the repeated victories of the *Athenians* under *Cimon*, the *Persians* were glad to treat upon any terms: and a peace was concluded extremely honourable on the *Grecians* side, the chief articles being, "That the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* should be



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"be left in the quiet enjoyment of their liberty; and that  
 "both the land and sea forces of the *Persians* should be kept  
 "at such a distance from the *Grecian* seas, as not to give any  
 "umbrage." *Stan.* V. 1. p. 291. the words of the treaty  
 as recited by *Diodor. Sic.* L. 12. are, ἀπονομὴς ἑκάς τις καὶ  
 τῶν Ἀσίων Ἑλλήνων πόλεις ἀπείσους, τὴν δὲ τῇ Περσῶν σφετέρῃς  
 μὴ κτεράσκειν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ κλισίῃσιν ἡμεῶν ὁδῶν, μηδὲ ταῦν  
 μεταρρῶν πλῆν ἐκτὸς Φασήλιδος καὶ Κυανίου.

5] *Προστάται* was the appellation of such citizens of  
*Athens* as undertook the care and protection of the *Mitings*  
 or *Dojourners*; who were obliged to choose out of the body  
 of Citizens some Patron in whose name all their business was  
 to be transacted, and who in consideration thereof was al-  
 lowed to demand several services of them. *Archæol.* V. 1.  
 p. 55. The expression therefore implies, that the *Athenians*  
 ought to be considered in the same rank of superiority above  
 the rest of the *Grecians*, as these *Προστάται* were at *Athens* in  
 respect of the *Mitings*. so *Demosthenes* Olynth. 2. uses the  
 word of those great Statesmen *Aristides*, *Miltiades* &c. un-  
 der whose *Patronage* and Conduct the affairs of *Athens* were  
 carried to the highest pitch of grandeur — Τότε μὲν δὲ τῶ-  
 ντοι τὸν τῆσιν ἔχοντι πᾶσι γὰρ ἐκείνοις χρηματίας οἷς ἔπαιον  
 οὐσίαις — §. 9.

5] ὡν ἱκανὸν δὲ μόνος &c.] for which reason, they, the *Athenians*,  
 have the justest pretensions to be considered as the principal of  
 the *Grecian* States,

8] ἀπολομένῳ γὰρ τῶν νέων] *Adimantus* one of the *Athenian* Ad-  
 mirals was thought to have betrayed the fleet to *Lyfander*.  
*Stan.* V. 1. p. 441.

10] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν] inasmuch as they were now exposed to  
 the influence of the *Lacedæmonians*, and no power remained  
 sufficient to oppose the *Persians*, as is implied afterwards;  
 tho' what ground there was for such intimation does not ap-  
 pear: No one certainly could be a greater curb upon the  
*Persians* than *Agessilaus* was.

13] ἑτέροις ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμόνων] for Others, viz. the *Lacedæmo-*  
*nians*, being now at the head of the affairs of Greece —

ib. εὐκλεισάν μιν ταυμάχωντας τὴν Ἑλλάδα] *Isocrates*, whose *Pane-*  
*gyric* is drawn upon much the same plan with this Oration  
 of *Lyfias*, specifies these victories of the *Persians* more parti-  
 cularly, εὐκλεισάν μιν οἱ Βασιλεῖς ταυμάχωντας, ἡξάν δὲ τὴν  
 λατρίαν, κατέχον δὲ πλεῖστας τῆς γῆς, ἀπείσσαν δὲ ἅς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνιον,  
 Κόνηρον δὲ καὶ Κορίνθον ἄλλαν, ἀπαύσαν δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ οὐκ  
 ποιεῖντες ἀνείταλάν, p. 145. Edit. Cant. But it may be ob-  
 served, that this was done under the conduct of *Conon*, who  
 was so far from oppressing the *Grecian* Islands, &c. that he  
 turned out the *Lacedæmonian* Governours, and set them free  
 upon

- 52 upon the Democratical plan of Government: All this happened (according to *Xenophon* Ελλην, I. 4.) after the transactions, which *Lyfias* proceeds to difcant upon in the next paragraph: and therefore he properly enough makes use of the word ἐκχρην *I have been carried out of the regular order of time*, p. 53. 1.
- 18 κἀπεὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα] Tis well known to have been the custom among the *Greeks*, for those, who thought themselves obliged to express their grief or concern, to tear, or cut off their hair, and to shave their heads; and this was sometimes practised by whole cities and commonwealths. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 197.
- 20 ὡς δυστυχὲς] *so unhappy was* —
- 22 ἴτερον ἡγούμενον λαοῦ μὲν] *having got, or to do with, other commanders of Greece.*
- 53 4 τρισάκοντις] see *Plat.* 26. l. 21.
- 5 πάντας πολέμους κικτημένοις] referring to the smallness of their numbers, who engaged in the attempt to recover their liberty: According to *Nepos* they were at first only 30. according to *Xenophon* 70. *Xenoph.* Κ. Π. Ζ. "Ὡς γὰρ μάλιστα ἔλθον ἡ δεινὴ ἀνέμεινα, τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους (c. i. quam plurimos) ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συλλεγόμεθα.
- 6 οὐκ ἔπειθ' ὅμως ἀναγκασθείς] inasmuch as the Constitution was subverted, and the law had thereby lost its proper efficacy.
- 9 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] viz. for those who had gone into voluntary exile to avoid the Tyranny of the xxx.
- 10 πᾶσι συμφοραῖς ἀιχμωμένοις] *afflicted with a generous shame* (as p. 43. l. 23. *at their misfortunes*; namely, that the *Lacedæmonians* should be able to reduce them to so low a condition.
- 13 συμμείχους μὲν ὄρεουσ] see the Oath taken by the *Ephēbi*. Note on *Plato* p. 34. l. 24. All the *Athenians* in the several tribes took the following Oath. "I will endeavour, with  
 "my own hands, to kill that man, who shall dissolve the  
 "*Athenian* Republick, or after its subversion shall bear any  
 "office; and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from  
 "guilt, in respect of the Gods or Demons, who shall take  
 "away his life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the  
 "distribution of his goods, I'll pass my vote that the slayer  
 "shall have half; and he, that in the attempt shall have the  
 "misfortune to lose his life, shall with his heirs have due  
 "respect and honour from me." *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 155.
- ib. καὶ συνθήκας] When *Lyfander* proposed to erect the Oligarchy of the xxx Tyrants at *Athens*, *Theramenes* alledged in opposition to his proposal, and read over the συνθήκαι, the articles of capitulation, upon which *Athens* has surrendered to him,

- 53 him, one of which was ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συνεισφέρειν πολιτείῃ. *Diod. Sic. L. 14. ad Olym. 94. 1.*
- 14 πάλαιος τὸς ἀσπίας ἐπιδέχωντας] for the *Lacedæmonians* kept in *Attica* a standing force to support the Oligarchy which they had established.
- 18 τὸς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους] Those *Lacedæmonians*, who fell in this war, had the privilege of being buried in the most honourable place of sepulture thro' the interest of their Countrymen, who supported the Government then established in *Athens*. This honour was granted likewise by the opposite party to some *Thebans*. p. 54. l. 11, 16.
- 21 τῶν] see *Plat.* 28. 20.
- 23 οὐκ ἐπὶ ημερίαν] see *Plat.* 27. 13. *not*.
- 54 4 ἀπολογισαίνεσθαι] vindicated themselves from the imputation of wanting true bravery and virtue.
- 7 βίᾳ παρίστανει Πειλοποννησίους] *Lyfias* was sent by the *Lacedæmonians* to support the Oligarchy established at *Athens*, who together with his brother *Libys* the Admiral blocked the *Piræus* by sea and land; and thereby greatly distressed those who had fled thither. *Pausanias* likewise was sent with another body of men to support *Lyfias*. see *Plato* 26. 21. — 29. 24.
- 8 τὰ αὐτῶν] viz. πόλιν.
- 11 εἰς ξένους] Those *Thebans* who assisted the Exiles against the 30 Tyrants.
- 12 πρὸ πολλοῦ] for tho' the number which *Thrasybulus* had with him was comparatively but small, yet it was the cause of the πολλοῦ which he defended.
- 17 βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίους] see *Plat.* 28. 5. — 29. 24.
- 18 πάλαιον φίλον] The *Corinthians* had in most instances been fast friends and allies to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Hind.* p. 141, 153, 410.
- 21 ὁ ἀσπίας ἕχθρος] viz. in the *Peloponnesian* war, when they acted against the *Athenians*.
- 55 2 τοῖς ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχοις] supply σύμμαχοι ἡσέβοι, as l. 3.
- 3 καὶ οὕτως μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ αὐτῶν ἦεν] for it was always usual with them when they came off victorious to admit others to the same privileges of freedom with themselves.
- 5 ἀνέστησαν] whenever they miscarried in their enterprises, the consequence was always fatal to the liberty of the *Peloponnesian* States.
- ib. αἰεὶ αὖτως] the *Corinthians*.
- 7 ἔπει] The *Athenians* who went to their relief.
- 11 ἐπικυράδων] viz. in the *Corinthian* war under the command of *Iphicrates*; by whose extraordinary conduct and skill in military

- 55 military affairs a stop was put to the progress of the *Lacedæmonian* arms. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 8.
- 12 δυσχερῆτα] see *Plat.* 40. 6.
- ib. πῶς δ' αὖτο δόσ' αὐτῶν] (viz. χόρου) for the seat of the war lay chiefly about *Corinth*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 79.
- 19 πάντα ἀφ' ἰσότητος ἢ ἀρετῆς] cuncta putas unâ virtute minora. *Hor.*
- 22 πολλῶν ἢ δεινῶν ὑπαρχόντων] notwithstanding that age is exposed to a variety of sad inconveniences, ζῆλῶ I think them happy in this respect that —
- 56 9 ὥστερον οὐ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς; ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν ἀπὸς καὶ τῆς αἰτίας μεινῆσθαι] q. d. shall I endeavour to alleviate their concern by representing, that the calamity is not at all peculiar to themselves, but extended to the whole community as well as them? but this will be endeavouring to procure a remedy to one evil by running into another, it will raise in the rest of my audience the uneasy remembrance of those misfortunes.
- 18 ἅσπερ ἐκείνοι.] shew the same regard and value for them as they, viz. their own children, would have done.
- 57 2 οὐ οἷδ' ὅτι δῆ] i. e. οἷδ' ὅτι ἔδει.
- 3 ἢ γὰρ ἰλασθάνομαι &c.] *Cic. Tusc. Disput.* L. 3. Anaxagoram ferunt nuntiâtâ morte filii dixisse, Sciebam me genuisse mortalem. *Vid. Ælian. Var. Hist.* L. 3. c. 2.
- 4 ἢ πάλας περὶ δακνῶμαι &c.] *Cic. ib.* Quoniam multum potest provisio animi et præparatio ad minuendum dolorem, sint semper omnia homini humana meditata.
- 5 ἢ λίαν ἔτω &c.] *Hom. Il.* ζ.  
 Δαυμβόη, μή μοι τι λίην ἀνὰ χεῖρα θυμῷ  
 Οὐ γὰρ περ μὲν ἔτιρ αἶσαν ἀνὴρ αἰδὼς πατρίδ'.
- 7 οὐτε γὰρ τὰς πενήτας &c.] *Hom. de. Hectore. ib.*  
 Μοῖρα δ' ἐπὶ πάσῃσι πεφυγμένῃσι ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,  
 Οὐ κενόν, ἐδὲ μὲν ἐδδόν, ἐπὶ πρῶτα χροῖται.
- 12 ἢ φύσις ἢ νόσος ἢ γῆρας] our Nature is such as must necessarily yield to the attacks of diseases and old-age.
- 22 ἀγῶνις — ῥώμης, ἢ σοφίας] see *Plato* p. 35. 7.
- 23 καὶ πλούτῳ] referring to the great charges which private persons were at in celebrating these festivals, vying with each other in the splendour of their preparations.
- ἀν' ἀξίας] *N. Accus.* absolute.
- 24 ταῖς αὐταῖς κηραῖς καὶ τὰς ἀθάναταις] — the same honours, as the immortal Gods —
- 25 τῷ θανάτῳ] (viz. ἔτιχα.)

58 *HYPERIDES* was an *Athenian* Orator, contemporary with *Demosthenes*, but supposed not to have been so hearty in the real interest of his country (see *Stan. V. 2. p. 252.*) However, he was very active in its service upon the death of *Alexander*, and was appointed to speak the funeral Oration over *Leosthenes* and those who fell in the *Lamian* war, as we learn from *Diod. Sic. B. 18.* Four years after he was seized by the command of *Antipater*, and put to death.

The fragment here reprinted is preserved by *Stobæus* Serm. 123. with *Hyperides*'s name affixed to it in the margin. Whether it was part of the Funeral oration above-mentioned is uncertain: From the expression *τὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος πόλεμος* it should seem to refer to some war undertaken upon a *religious* account. One of which kind happened in his time, namely, the *Phœcian* or *Sacred* War; in which the zeal of one side was inflamed by the cry of *Religion*, and of the other by that of *Liberty*. The *Athenians* indeed took the latter party; but if the character of *Hyperides*, above referred to, be a just one, there is no improbability of his having in his younger years been a Panegyrist upon those who fell in support of the *Phœcian* interest, which had its advocates, as *Demosthenes* represents also *Philip* to have had, among the then *Athenian* Orators.

The funeral Oration under the name of *Demosthenes* is thought to be spurious. (see *Taylor Lett. Lyfæt. p. 681.*)

# NOTES

## UPON

### The Extracts from *Xenophon*.

**CYRUS**, the younger, being killed in his attempt to dethrone his elder brother *Artaxerxes*, K. of *Persia*, the *Grecian* Mercenaries, who attended *Cyrus* in that Expedition, were reduced to great difficulties by the treachery of their Asiatick Comrades, who immediately went over to *Artaxerxes*, and inveigled almost all the *Grecian* Commanders into the hands of the *Persians* under pretence of a truce and pacification : By whom they were put to death.

59 <sup>5</sup> *ὡς μὲν πόλεμος ἦν &c.*] viz. in the war which was terminated by the victories of *Lysander* about 3 years before.

8 *ἡδικῆσι τοῖς Ἑλλήνων*] The *Lacedæmonians*, having ruined the power of the *Athenians* by *Lysander*, now affected the title of Guardians and Protectors of *Greece*. The whole coast of *Thrace* was lined with *Grecian* Colonies settled there for the advantage of Commerce. No wonder therefore if we hear of mutual jealousies and injuries passing between the old inhabitants and these new settlers.

9 *Ἐφόροι*] The *Ephori* were Magistrates at *Lacedæmon*, five in number (*Suid.*), appointed originally to be Inspectors under the Kings, and the supreme Council of State, as the Tribunes were among the Romans; but by degrees their Authority rose so high as to controul them and all other Officers whether Military or Civil. Their Sentences were final and admitted of no appeal, and were by them immediately carried into execution. see *Xenoph.* *περὶ Λακεδαιμ. πολιτείας*, *C. Nepos* in *Pausan.*

13 *πάρων*] the *Spartan Magistrates*. The Scholiast. on *Thucyd.* B. 1. gives this for the reason of the appellation, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀρχαῖς ἦσαν.*

15 *ἀπαρχῇ*] viz. in the first B. of the *Αναβάσεως*.

16 *μυρία Δαρικαῖα*.] The *Daric* was a piece of money so called from *Darius*, named in Scripture *Darius the Median* (the same with *Cyaxares*, Father in Law to *Cyrus* the Elder.) It is probable that he caused it to be made at *Babylon* out of the vast quantity of Gold which had been brought into his Treasury,

68 Notes upon the Extracts from *Xenoph.*

- 59 fury, as the spoils of war which He and Cyrus had been long engaged in; from whence it became dispersed all over the East and also throughout Greece; where it was of great reputation; the Gold being exceeding pure with very little alloy in it. It weighed according to Dr Bernard 2 grains more than one of our Guineas, but, on account of its fineness, might be worth 25s. see Dr. Prideaux Connest. P. I. B. 2.
- 19 ἀπὸ τούτου ἔφικε ἐς ἡγεῖν αὐτούς.] After that (after having conquered them in battle) he harassed and plundered them. so in Latin *Ferre et Agere*. H.
- 60 7 ὡς παιδικῇ] τῷτο πνίς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ ἔρωτῳ, πνίς δὲ ἐπὶ αἰσχροῖς λαμπρόνυσσι. Schol. ad Thucyd. L. 1. — ἐπὶ θηλειῶν καὶ ἀφρόντων ἡρώωνων πάντοτε ἡ λίζε — ὡς δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαλῶν ἡρώωνων. Phavorin. Hæc autem dictio (v. Budæum Comm. L. G. p. 177.) ab amoribus puerorum ad honestam amorem et voluptatem inculpatam translata est: adeo ut alicujus tam res quælibet quàm homo dicatur παιδικῶς, quàm quemve in deliciis habet. Hutch. see also Potter Archæolog. B. 4. Ch. 9.
- 8 πολυμήδης] i. e. ἱκανὸς πολυμήλειν Bello idoneus. Adjectiva, quæ terminationem hanc sortita sunt, id plerumque denotant ad quod suscipiendum perficiendumque subjecta sunt idonea, apta, propensa. sic ἀρχηγός est ἀρχεῖν ἱκανός. v. Hutchinson ad l.
- 13 ἀρχηγός — ὡς δυνατὸν, ἐκ τῷ τοιούτῳ πείρου οἷον καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἔχον] fitted for Government and Command, extremely so, in consequence of his turn of mind and temper.
- 20 καὶ γνώμη ὅ ἐκείλιν.] tho' he was sometimes passionate and excessively severe in his punishments, yet he instilled them upon a settled determined principle —
- 61 22 Γοργίας] Gorgias of Leontium, in Sicily, was celebrated for his principles of Policy and for his address in applying the powers of Oratory. After having signalized himself at Athens by pleading the cause of the Syracusans and successfully imploring the aid of the Athenians (Diodor. Sic. B. 12.) he was much resorted to as a treasury of useful and polite learning, and at great premiums communicated his knowledge in Eloquence and Policy. His pay was sometimes no less than 100 Minæ or 10000 Drachms; (322 l. 18 s. 4 d.) Isocrates was one of his Scholars. See the character of his Oratory given by Cicero. Orat. n. 175. Cicero reports that after displaying his Oratory in the Olympick and Pythian Games he had a golden statue erected to his honour at Delphos.
- 24 μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν ἀρετῶν] having qualified himself by real abilities and services to make an ample return to any Great men, who should admit him to their friendship.

62 3 τέτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν — αὖ —] But however earnestly desirous he was of these things — yet —

23 τίρῳν δὲ φανερός &c.] He manifestly shewed himself to have no such thing as real affection for any person —

63 1 κατηγύλα] he despised — or treated with contempt —

4 μόνος αὐτοῦ ἀδινᾶν —] unus omnium existimavit se scire — piqued himself upon his having a peculiar address and abilities to —

7 οἷοις καὶ ἀληθείαι ἀσκήσιν] men of conscience, acting under the awful reverence of a supreme Being, and steering their conduct by the maxims of Truth.

8 ἀγάσσεται] rejoices in.

11 μὴ πυνέριον] a man that had his scruples about carrying an affair thro' sitch, rights or wrong —

15 ἤξει] he claimed, asserted his pretensions to a superior degree of Honour and Respect —

17 κατίλισαν] he threw it in his teeth, he reproached him with this as a kindness actually conferred, that in employing him in his service, he had not contrived so as to destroy him.

12 ἔξει —] it may be, that false accounts have been given of some of the more secret parts of his life and conversation.

20 Αἰσιππος] Of this Aristippus some account is given *Αναδ.* B. 1. He was a man of superior note, and aimed at Despotism in his district, but being opposed in his ambitious aims, in order to retain his superiority, he applied himself to Cyrus, who assisted him by a liberal donation, sufficient for raising an Army of 4000 men; which he intended, afterwards, should serve his own purposes.

20 διπρώξεν] he procured (insinuating that he did it by some shameful compliances,) for himself a General's command, tho' he was but a stripling, ὡρεῖος —

24 ἀποδινήσκοντι τῶν στρατῶν] When the Generals were put to death —

64 5 ὡς πονηρός as a Villain —

6 πελάστῃς τυχεῖν] obtained his release from life —



# NOTES

## UPON

### The Extracts from *Cicero*.

#### PHILIPPIC. IX.

THE whole set of Orations, which *Cicero* spoke against *M. Antonius* upbraiding him with his personal vices, and pernicious designs against the common Interests of his Country, have had this name given to them in allusion to these Orations, whereby *Demosthenes* endeavoured to animate the *Athenians* against *Philip* of *Macedon*, as having projected and well nigh executed the plan for conquering and enslaving *Greece*.

By way of Argument to the foregoing extracts it may be proper to premise thus much, that,

Soon after the death of *Julius Caesar*, *M. Antonius*, a soldier and favourite of his, found himself prompted both by his Ambition and Expensiveness to form a scheme of succeeding Him in his Sovereign Dominion, and in the oppression of his Country's Liberty: This he conducted with surprizing vigour and address.

*D. Brutus*, a man of large fortune, and one who, having been highly favoured by *Cæsar*, was regarded with particular abhorrence by the enemies of liberty for the share he took in *Cæsar's* Assassination, exerted himself to the utmost to defeat the schemes of *M. Antonius*. — He had been nominated by *J. Cæsar* to the Government of *Gallia Cisalpine*: To this he retired soon after the death of *Cæsar*, and declared hostilities against *M. Antonius* by forbidding him entrance into it. But finding himself unable to oppose *Antonius* in the field, he threw himself with all his forces into the strong Town of *Mutina*, which was thereupon besieged by *Antonius*. — An Embassy was appointed to carry to him the peremptory commands of the Senate to quit the siege of *Mutina*, and to desist from all hostilities: The persons nominated thereunto were *S. Sulpitius*, *L. Piso*, and *L. Philippus*. — *Ser. Sulpitius* was at that time in a very declining state of health, and died when they were just arrived at *Antonius's* camp. — Soon after, *Pompey*, one of the Consuls, called the Senate together to deliberate on some proper honours to be decreed to the memory  
of

of *S. Sulpicius*: He advised to pay him all the honours, which had ever been decreed to any, who had lost their lives in the service of their Country; a publick funeral; sepulchre, and statue: In this motion he was supported by *Cicero* (*Phil. 9.*) and in this resolution the Senate concurred.

*D. Brutus*, who continued near four months besieged in *Mutina*, was reduced to great straits, but defended it with the greatest resolution. *Hirtius*, one of the Consuls, had already marched to his relief at the head of a brave army, and particularly of the *Martial* and *Fourth* Legions, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole. *Octavius Caesar* had the year before been very active in soliciting his uncle *Jul. Caesar's* soldiers into his service, and had drawn together a firm and regular army of Veterans completely furnished with all the necessaries for present service. The command of which was afterwards assigned to him by authority of the Senate, upon condition that he should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of *D. Brutus* and his Accomplices. Accordingly he joined his forces to those of *Hirtius*; and not long after, the other Consul *Pansa* set out to join them with his new raised army, consisting of four Legions. But when he was advanced within a few miles of *Hirtius's* camp, *Antonius* privately drew out some of his best troops with design to surprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. Upon which a general action ensued, wherein *Antonius* lost the greatest part of his Veteran troops, two Eagles, and sixty standards; but however he regained his Camp, hoping to make himself master of *Mutina*, as the place was reduced to great extremity, and his works seemed strong enough to prevent any relief being thrown into it. But *Hirtius* and *Octavius* attacked him in his intrenchments and forced him to a general battle, wherein he was at length defeated and the place relieved.

*Ser. Galba*, one of the Conspirators against *Caesar*, gave *Cicero* a particular account of the first Action, *Ep. Fam. X. 30.* Other Letters also arrived severally from the two Consuls and *Octavius*, which raised an incredible joy at *Rome*; and the day following, the Senate being summoned by *Cornelius* the Prætor, to deliberate upon the Letters of the Consuls and *Octavius*, *Cicero* delivered his Opinion as it stands in the fourteenth Philippick; which was ratified by the Senate. See *Dr Middleton's Life of Cicero*.

65 6<sup>l</sup>ustu publico] It was usual with the *Romans* on any disastrous event, by which the common welfare was endangered, to testify their sense of it, and thereby to rouse one another up to compensate the mischief by extraordinary

65 nary efforts of Patriotism. This was a rational, and, probably, the original design of Publick Mourning.

18 cenſeo] This was the legal term made uſe of by *Roman* Senators, when they had formed their Opinions into a Motion.

ib. Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemoniâ, Rufus.] *Moris* fuit, ut cum aliquis civis Romanus offendendus ſit, ſignificaretur aut a Prænomine ſuo, aut a Nomine, aut a Cognatione, aut a Tribu in quâ cenſeretur, (*adde et a Cognomine*) aut a Curia, aut a Cenſu. *Aſcon. in Cíc.* We have this account here exemplified in the 5 firſt particulars. *Servius* (Prænomen, quod ſingulorum proprium eſt) *Sulpicius* (Nomen gentilitium, multis Gentis et Familiæ cauſâ commune;) *Q. F.* (Quinti Patris Filius) *Lemoniâ* (Tribu Lemoniâ, in quâ cenſebatur. Tribûs autem nomen ablativo caſu plerumque ponitur.) This was one of the Ruſtick Tribes ſo called from the Village of *Lemo* not far from the *Porta Capena*, in which *Sulpicius* probably poſſeſſed ſome eſtate. *Rufus* (Cognomen, quod plerumque ab actione aliquâ, vel a corpore, vel a moribus inditum eſt.) vid. *Pitiſci. Lexic.*

20 Auctoritatem Senatûs] Auctoritas in genere eſt cum aliorum conſiliis, juſſis, voluntati libenter obedimus. Sometimes *Auctoritas Senatûs* ſtands contradiftinguiſhed from the *Senatûs conſultum*: viz. when the Act was patronized indeed by a Majority of the Senators, but was hindered from paſſing into an Obligatory Act, either by the interpoeſal of a Negative by a Tribune &c. or for want of a proper number to ratify the Act.

66 10 ſtatuum pedestrem in Roſtris] in that part of the Forum where the *Roſtra* ſtood; which as being moſt frequented and moſt conſpicuous was the moſt honourable ſpot of ground that could have been choſen.

12 circum eam ſtatuum locum ludis gladiatoribuſque] ſc. *ludis gladiatoribuſque ſpectandis*. Five feet-round the Statue in all directions might be ſufficient for the purpoſe of Seeing fights, but very incompetent for exhibiting them. Excepting in the caſe of ſome peculiar privilege granted by the Senate, Places at publick Games were ſeized promiſcuouſly without any regard to Rank and Station. — The practice of aſſigning to perſons diſtinct places in the Theatres according to their Rank as Patricians Knights and Plebeians, was introduced A. U. C. 559. — The *Circus* was ſtill left open to All.

19 locent) contract with ſome Artiſt or Undertaker.

20 redemptori] Redemptores ſunt, qui cum quid publice faciendum aut præbendum conduxerant effecerantque, tum denique pecunias accipiebant. *Fefus.*

66 24 quam amplissim] with all the pomp and grandeur of ceremony that was made use of at the interment of most eminent persons. see Kennet. *Antiq.* P. 11. B. 5. and the Authors these referred to.

ib. supremo die sub] In the case of indictive and publick Funerals the carrying forth of the Body to its Funeral was performed on the 8th day after the Person's death. *Serv.* in *Ænold.* v. 65.

28 Ediles Curiules edictum] These Ediles chosen out of the Nobility (it is well known) had the inspection and regulation of publick Games and other matters of publick Ceremony.

67 6 uti quod optimo jure &c.] a quaint formality of Law-expression to give validity to the Grant.

12 Supplicationes ex literis] After obtaining any remarkable advantage in War, the General commonly gave the Senate an account of it by Letters wreathed about with Laurel, in which he desired the favour of a *Supplicatio* or solemn procession to the Temples of the Gods; this being granted for a set number of days, the Senate went in a solemn manner to the Temples; Sacrifices were offered, with publick Festivities. *Kennet* P. 2. B. 4.

17 Imperatores appellem] Though this Title was given, upon any remarkable success, to the General by the Acclamations of the Soldiers in the Camp, yet to ensure the Title a Decree of the Senate was necessary. *ib.*

21 Hostes judicio] as no longer deserving the name of Citizens, but Enemies to their Country. ——— The Roman Senate often by a Vote fixed this appellation as a stain of Ignominy on those who took up arms against their Country, deserted its Interests and service, or attempted to overturn the Constitution.

25 alterum nomen beneficii &c.] viz. that of Consul.

68 10 legione Martia — Quarta — &c.] Legions for distinction's sake were denominated either from the Order in which they were raised, First, Second &c. or from the Place where they were stationed, *Germanica*, *Britannica* &c. or from the Generals, as, *Agrippa*, *Claudia* &c. or from some particular Character, *Martia*, *Victoria*, *Ferrea*, *Fulminatrix* &c.

27 qui Cæsaris beneficia servissent] who had managed their domestick concerns so well as to have preserved the Largesses given them by Cæsar, and not squandered them away. It was usual with Generals in the Provinces to reward such of their Soldiers as deserved well, with Donations of Land &c. and to secure their title at their return to Rome, *reserare eos in beneficiis ad ærarium* to register them in the publick Treas-

## 74 Notes upon the Extracts from *Cicero*.

- sury: No one was more liberal in this particular than *Julius Caesar*. But those Soldiers, whose title was thus confirmed, were at liberty to part with their property.
- 69 <sup>1</sup> Hirtius ipse aquilam] In cases of extraordinary difficulty it was not unusual for the General himself to take the Standard into his own hands and lead the Soldiers onward to the Enemy — nothing appearing so disgraceful to the Roman Soldiery as to suffer their Standard to be taken by the Enemy *see Caesar. de B. Gall. L. 4.*
- <sup>4</sup> huic Jovi Maximo] the Senate at this time was assembled in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.
- <sup>14</sup> Aetas certe ejus &c.] *Octavius* (afterwards *Augustus*) *Caesar* was at the time here spoken of about 20 years old, having been born A. U. C. 690. This motion of *Cicero's* was made A. U. C. 710.
- <sup>29</sup> monumentum amplissimum] *Monumentum* differt a *Sepulchro*, in quo corpus conditum est; *Monumentum* est quodcunque opus aut ædificium transmittendæ ad Posteris memoriæ causâ factum: cujusmodi hodie Romæ extat *C. Cestii* Monumentum e Marmore quadrato. v. Pitisc. Lex.
- 71 <sup>13</sup> Mars in acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet] sibi quasi suos assumere. Nam in acie fortissimi quique moriuntur. Manut.
- <sup>14</sup> nunc vero sanctissimi] By this solemn Act of the Senate they were, in a manner, Sainted and Deified. *Sancti* was one of the Attributes of the Gods.
- 72 <sup>29</sup> dispersis bustis crematos] the *Puticuli* without the Esquilian gate were the place allotted for burying of the Bones and ashes of persons of the lowest rank, who had no private place of their own for burial.
- contectos] the honour of being buried within the City was not granted to any (the Vestal virgins excepted) but by a publick Decree of the Senate.
- 73 <sup>3</sup> Ara virtutis] cui inscribetur elogium, eorum virtutem immortalitati consecrans. Solebant enim in locis, ubi victoria erat parata, locari Aræ, quibus inscribebantur res in illo loco gestæ, & illorum laus, quorum virtute res gestæ erant. *Græc.* This is a true account of the matter of fact. But *Cicero's* thought in the use of this expression is much more spirited. The virtues of these brave men had, he tells his hearers, in a manner deified them, and justified the erecting Altars to their honour.
- <sup>23</sup> cum tempus venerit] 'tis probable from the subsequent successes of *Antonius* that the time of putting these Decrees of the Senate in execution never came.

## Notes upon the Extracts from *Cicero*. 75

- 73 23 *Legiones tironum*] Legions formed out of Recruits newly raised : — tho' these undoubtedly included likewise many Veterans, to instruct the novices in their military duty.
- 24 *occisione occiderit*] thoroughly routed and destroyed.
- 74 16 *Prætor urbanus*] The Consuls being at this time absent, the *Prætor urbanus*, or One of them was possessed of the Supreme Jurisdiction. Probably the *Prætor Primus* or He who was first Elected. At first there was but *One*, elected by the People voting in their Centuries ; Afterwards, as the Dominion and Affairs of *Rome* encreased, the number was gradually enlarged to *Eight* ; and by *Julius Cæsar* to *Sixteen*.
- 75 5 *monumentum locandum*] see p. 66. 19.
- ib. *Quæstores urbis*] as having the charge of the Publick Treasury, and being intrusted with Receipts and Disbursement of Publick Monies.

*To the Catalogue of Books proper to be consulted for Athenian and Roman Antiquities might be added, two Others, which are now antiquated, but in their times were not undeservedly well esteemed, and are still very useful for Classical Expressions relative to those subjects, viz. Seven Books of the Attick Antiquities by Fran. Rous and Zach. Bogan. 4to.*

*An Exposition of the Roman Antiquities by Tho. Godwin. 4to.*

# A Chronological Table.

| <i>Year of the World.</i> |  | <i>Year before Christ.</i> |
|---------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| 1656                      | <b>N</b> OAH is preserved in the Universal Deluge.   | 2348                       |
| 1988                      | Abraham born.  | 2016                       |
| 2107                      | The Destruction of Sodom.  | 1897                       |
| 2244                      | From the first peopling of <i>Attica</i> 'till the time of <i>Ogyges</i> , we have no account of any thing that passed there. — And of his times we know little more than that <i>Attica</i> was wasted so much by a deluge as not to recover itself for near 200 years.           | 1760                       |
| 2376                      | <i>Joseph</i> dies.  | 1634                       |
| 2428                      | <i>Moses</i> born.   | 1576                       |
| 2448                      | <i>Cecrops</i> an <i>Egyptian</i> , having married the daughter of <i>Athaus</i> King of <i>Attica</i> , built the City; which was afterwards the Citadel, calling it <i>Cecropia</i> . He introduced a Form and Ceremonial of Religion into the Country.                          | 1556                       |
|                           | The number of Kings in <i>Attica</i> is reckoned to be 17; they reigned in all 487 years.  |                            |
| 2492                      | <i>Deucalion's</i> flood.  | 1512                       |
|                           | <i>Amphictyon</i> the son of <i>Deucalion</i> , having married the daughter of <i>Cranaus</i> King of <i>Attica</i> , deposed him and usurped his throne; and was 10 or 12 years after himself deposed by <i>Eriabonius</i> , a foreigner, who introduced the use of silver money. |                            |
| 2508                      | <i>Israelites</i> depart out of <i>Egypt</i> .   | 1496                       |
| 2547                      | <i>Moses</i> dies.   | 1457                       |
| 2550                      | <i>Cadmus</i> fl.  | 1454                       |
| 2568                      | <i>Pandion</i> son of <i>Eriabonius</i> , was the first king who held the throne in right of succession.   | 1436                       |
| 2608                      | * <i>Erethbeus</i> succeeded <i>Pandion</i> . He had war with the <i>Eleusnians</i> , who were assisted by <i>Eumolpus</i> king of <i>Ithaca</i> .   | 1396                       |
| 2657                      | <i>Cecrops</i> II. gathered the people of <i>Attica</i> into twelve burroughs: to him succeeded  | 1347                       |
| 2698                      | <i>Pandion</i> II. and to him  | 1306                       |
| 2723                      | <i>Aegeus</i> .  | 1281                       |
| 2772                      | <i>Carthage</i> built by a Colony of <i>Tyrians</i> .  | 1234                       |

# A Chronological Table.

77

*Year of the World.*

*Year before Christ.*

|      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 2781 | * <i>Theseus</i> new modelled the State, and brought the inhabitants of <i>Attica</i> into one City, which he named <i>Athens</i> . In his time happened the <i>Trojan</i> and the <i>Amazonian</i> war.                              | 1223 |
| 2785 |   | 1219 |
| 2797 |   | 1207 |
| 2788 | * <i>Hercules</i> dies.   | 1216 |
| 2801 | * <i>Eurystheus</i> is slain.   | 1203 |
| 2881 | The <i>Trojan</i> war ended.  | 1183 |
| 2816 | <i>Jefta</i> judges <i>Israel</i> .   | 1188 |
| 2823 | <i>Aneas</i> comes into <i>Italy</i> .  | 1181 |
| 2900 | * The <i>Heracidae</i> by means of the <i>Athenians</i> recover possession of <i>Peloponnesus</i> .   | 1104 |
| 2904 | <i>Samuel</i> judges <i>Israel</i> .  | 1100 |
| 2934 | * The <i>Heracidae</i> invade <i>Attica</i> . <i>Cadmus</i> king of <i>Athens</i> throws away his life for the welfare of his country.  | 1070 |
| 2936 | After which the supreme Magistrate in <i>Athens</i> was no longer called <i>King</i> , but <i>Archon</i> . <i>Medon</i> , the son of <i>Cadmus</i> was the first of this title. There were 13 of them in succession during 312 years. | 1068 |
| 2944 | <i>David</i> begins his reign.  | 1060 |
| 2960 | * The <i>Athenians</i> sent out large Colonies on the maritime coasts of <i>Asia minor</i> .  | 1044 |
| 2988 | <i>Solomon</i> begins building the Temple.  | 1016 |
| 3093 | <i>Homer</i> dies.  | 911  |
| 3122 | <i>Lycurgus</i> gives Laws to the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> .   | 882  |
| 3228 | The vulgar Era of the <i>Olympiads</i> . (But N.B. this was really the 1st year of the 28th Olympiad, or 108 years after the restitution of the Olympian Games by <i>Iphitus</i> .)   | 776  |
| 3248 | The <i>Athenians</i> reduce the administration of the <i>Archons</i> to a decennial office. — Of those, who bore it, there were seven. The first named <i>Clearchus</i> , in last <i>Eryxias</i> .                                    | 756  |
| 3252 | Rome built.   | 752  |
| 3281 | The Captivity of the ten tribes of <i>Israel</i> .  | 723  |
| 3318 | The office of <i>Archon</i> is reduced to an annual office, executed by nine persons; one of them bearing the Title: The first who bore it was <i>Creon</i> .   | 686  |
| 3381 | <i>Draco</i> prescribes his Laws, remarkable for their severity.  | 623  |
| 3396 | The Captivity of <i>Judah</i> .   | 608  |
| 3411 | * <i>Solon</i> undertakes to reform the State and the Laws of <i>Athens</i> .   | 593  |
| 3432 | <i>Anacreon</i> flourishes.   | 572  |
| 3441 | <i>Alexander</i> put to death at <i>Delfi</i> .   | 563  |



Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

|      |  |     |
|------|--|-----|
| 3444 | <i>Pisistratus</i> takes advantage of the factions into which the state of <i>Athens</i> was divided, and seizes the Government; which he did not get quiet possession of 'till sixteen years afterwards; He held it 17 years by himself; as his sons did 18 more after him. | 560 |
| 3456 | * <i>Cyrus</i> brings all <i>Asia minor</i> under his Dominion, having been called out of <i>Persia</i> by his uncle <i>Cyaxares</i> king of <i>Media</i> to assist him against the <i>Babylonians</i> .   | 548 |
| 3460 | * — subdues <i>Syria</i> , <i>Palestine</i> , and <i>Arabia</i> .  | 544 |
| 3462 | * — marches into upper <i>Asia</i> , and reduces it.   | 542 |
| 3465 | * — returns into <i>Assyria</i> , and takes <i>Babylon</i> : then placing his uncle <i>Cyaxares</i> (called in Scripture <i>Darius the Mede</i> ) on the throne of <i>Babylon</i> , he makes an expedition into <i>Syria</i> .   | 539 |
| 3467 | * <i>Cyaxares</i> dies; and <i>Cyrus</i> succeeds in the whole Empire; and releases the <i>Jews</i> from their Captivity; issues a Decree to rebuild the Temple.   | 537 |
| 3475 | * <i>Cyrus</i> dies; and is succeeded by his son <i>Cambyses</i> .   | 529 |
| 3478 | * <i>Cambyses</i> invades <i>Egypt</i> ; and conquers the whole Kingdom.   | 526 |
| 3480 | * <i>Cambyses</i> makes an expedition against the <i>Ethiopians</i> , and returns his loss.  | 524 |
| 3482 | — dies. — The <i>Magians</i> seize the Kingdom.<br>* <i>Hipparchus</i> , who succeeded his father <i>Pisistratus</i> in the Tyranny of <i>Athens</i> , is slain by <i>Harmodius</i> and <i>Aristogiton</i> : and is succeeded therein by his brother <i>Hippias</i> .        | 522 |
| 3483 | * The <i>Magians</i> are slain; and <i>Darius</i> son of <i>Hystaspes</i> is chosen king of <i>Persia</i> .  | 521 |
| 3484 | <i>Pindar</i> born.  | 520 |
| 3489 | <i>The second Temple finished.</i>   | 515 |
| 3493 | * <i>Darius</i> invades <i>Scythia</i> ; and loses half his army: but subdues <i>Thrace</i> .  | 513 |
| 3494 | The <i>Scythians</i> ravage <i>Thrace</i> , and drive <i>Milτιάdes</i> out of the <i>Eberfonesus</i> .   | 510 |
| 3495 | * <i>Hippias</i> is driven from <i>Athens</i> .  | 509 |
| 3498 | * <i>Darius</i> sends a fleet down the <i>Indus</i> to discover <i>India</i> ; which he afterwards invades and conquers.   | 506 |
| 3501 | * The <i>Persians</i> under the command of <i>Aristagoras</i> of <i>Miletus</i> make a fruitless attempt upon <i>Naxos</i> .   | 503 |
| 3502 | * The <i>Athenians</i> enter into a Confederacy with   | 502 |

# A. Chronological Table.

79

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

|      |  |     |
|------|--|-----|
|      | the <i>Ionians</i> against <i>Darius</i> ; and the next year equip a fleet of 20 sail in conjunction with 5 Gallies of <i>Eretria</i> ; and burn <i>Sardes</i> .   |     |
| 3507 | The <i>Persians</i> reduce the revolters in <i>Ionian</i> .  | 497 |
| 3509 | They reduce the <i>Hellepont</i> and parts thereabout, and force <i>Miltiades</i> to flee from thence to <i>Athens</i> .   | 495 |
| 3510 | * <i>Mardonius</i> is sent by <i>Darius</i> to make war against <i>Greece</i> , but miscarries in the expedition.  | 494 |
|      | <i>Sophocles</i> born.   |     |
| 3511 | * <i>Darius</i> continues his preparations against <i>Greece</i> ; and sends a large force under <i>Datis</i> and <i>Artaphernes</i> , who possess themselves of the <i>Cyclades</i> , and storm <i>Eretria</i> .  | 493 |
| 3513 | * They invade <i>Attica</i> , but are defeated at <i>Marathon</i> .  | 491 |
|      | * <i>Miltiades</i> is sent to chastise the Islands, which sided with the <i>Persians</i> .   |     |
| 3520 | * <i>Darius</i> resolves to invade <i>Greece</i> in person; but dying leaves the prosecution of the war to his son and successor <i>Xerxes</i> .   | 484 |
| 3519 | <i>Euripides</i> born.   | 485 |
| 3521 | <i>Herodotus</i> the Historian born.   | 483 |
| 3524 | * <i>Xerxes</i> passes in <i>Hellepont</i> , and marches into <i>Greece</i> : is opposed at <i>Thermopylae</i> ; but at length forces his passage, and wastes <i>Attica</i> with fire and sword. — His numerous fleet receives a defeat from the confederate fleet of <i>Greece</i> at <i>Salamis</i> under <i>Themistocles</i> : — as afterwards did his Land-army near <i>Plataea</i> . — In <i>Ionian</i> the <i>Persian</i> force are defeated by those of <i>Greece</i> , on the very same day on which the battle was fought at <i>Plataea</i> , near <i>Mysale</i> by land; and afterwards at <i>Egos-potamos</i> by sea. | 480 |
| 3525 |  | 479 |
| 3526 | * The <i>Athenians</i> reconvey their families from <i>Salamis</i> into <i>Attica</i> , and rebuild their walls, and fortify their harbour of <i>Piræus</i> .  | 478 |
| 3527 | * The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Athenians</i> jointly pursue the war against the <i>Persians</i> .   | 477 |
|      | * The <i>Ionians</i> having revolted from the <i>Persians</i> put themselves under the protection of the <i>Athenians</i> .  |     |
| 3534 | * <i>Cimon</i> scours the <i>Asiatick</i> seas, and defeats the <i>Persian</i> fleet at the mouth of the river <i>Eury-medon</i> : and the same day landing his men routs their Land-army; and afterwards makes  | 470 |

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 3535 | many other conquests on the <i>Hellepont</i> .<br>* The <i>Athenians</i> employ part of their fleet in the service of <i>Inarus</i> king of <i>Libya</i> , who had drawn <i>Egypt</i> to revolt against the king of <i>Persia</i> . — and proceed with success.   | 469 |
| 3538 | <i>Themistocles</i> poisons himself.  | 466 |
| 3541 | <i>Xerxes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .  | 463 |
| 3546 | <i>Lyfias</i> born.   | 458 |
| 3547 | ( <i>Ezra</i> comes to <i>Jerusalem</i> .)  | 457 |
| 3547 | * The <i>Athenians</i> have frequent skirmishes with the <i>Corinthians</i> and <i>Æginetans</i> ; under <i>Myronides</i> the intirely defeat the <i>Corinthians</i> .<br>* They engage with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> near <i>Tanagra</i> , and are worsted: — but soon after return the blow at a place called the <i>Oenophyta</i> or <i>Vineyards</i> .                  | 457 |
| 3548 | * They likewise subdue <i>Ægina</i> , and render it tributary.  | 456 |
| 3549 | * Under <i>Tolmides</i> they harass the coasts of <i>Laconia</i> and <i>Corinth</i> : but in <i>Egypt</i> their forces are distressed and vanquished.   | 455 |
| 3551 | * <i>Cimon</i> , after a banishment of five years, is recalled home, and makes up a peace with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> .   | 453 |
| 3554 | The <i>Decemviral</i> is Authority established at <i>Rome</i> , and abrogated within two years.   | 450 |
| 3555 | * The <i>Athenians</i> send <i>Cimon</i> with a great fleet to <i>Cyprus</i> , where he engages the <i>Persian</i> forces both by sea and land with great success; and dies.  | 449 |
| 3556 |   | 448 |
| 3559 | * The <i>Athenians</i> are insulted from various quarters; reinstated by <i>Pericles</i> .  | 445 |
| 3561 | <i>Nehemiah</i> succeeds <i>Ezra</i> in the Government of <i>Jerusalem</i> .  | 443 |
| 3563 | <i>Herodotus</i> publicly recites his history.<br><i>Euripides</i> fl.  | 441 |
| 3564 | * The <i>Athenians</i> under the conduct of <i>Pericles</i> subdue the <i>Samidians</i> .   | 440 |
| 3566 | * The <i>Corinthian</i> war.  | 438 |
| 3573 | * The <i>Peloponnesian</i> war begins. — The <i>Peloponnesian</i> confederates invade <i>Attica</i> . — The <i>Athenians</i> exert themselves chiefly at sea against the coasts of <i>Peloponnesus</i> , with success. — and after the return of the <i>Peloponnesians</i> out of <i>Attica</i> invade <i>Megaris</i> . <i>Pericles</i> speaks his funeral Oration. — dies. | 431 |
| 3576 |   | 428 |

# A Chronological Table.

31

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 3577 | * <i>Leobus</i> revolts from the <i>Athenians</i> — The   | 427 |
| 3578 | <i>Athenians</i> recover it by besieging <i>Mitylene</i> ; seize their shipping, raze their walls and confiscate the estates of the revoltors.<br>The <i>Lacedaemonians</i> make reprisals upon the inhabitants of <i>Plataea</i> .<br>* The <i>Athenians</i> engage on the side of the <i>Leontines</i> in their quarrel against <i>Syracuse</i> .   | 426 |
| 3580 | * They seize <i>Pylus</i> in <i>Laconia</i> , and distress the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> in the island <i>Sphacteria</i> .<br><i>Aristophanes</i> flourishes.   | 424 |
| 3583 | <i>Brasidas</i> gives a successful turn to the <i>Lacedaemonian</i> affairs. — They and the <i>Athenians</i> come to terms; but the rest of the <i>Peloponnesian</i> confederates being disgusted therewith, the quarrel is renewed.  | 421 |
| 3586 | * The <i>Athenians</i> , by the advice of <i>Alcibiades</i> , undertake an expedition against <i>Syracuse</i> .   | 418 |
| 3590 | They are defeated and pursued with great slaughter.   | 414 |
| 3592 | * The <i>Lacedaemonians</i> conclude a league with the king of <i>Persia</i> , which is followed by the revolt of the principal cities of <i>Ionis</i> from <i>Athens</i> .   | 412 |
| 3593 | * Several places on the <i>Hælespont</i> likewise revolt; but are soon reduced to their obedience.  | 411 |
| 3594 | * The <i>Athenians</i> , in order to carry on their military affairs with more dispatch in those distressing times, consent to alter the Constitution of their Government, and place it in the hands of 400, who abuse their power in acts of tyranny and oppression. This is followed by various factions and tumults in the City, and by the revolt of <i>Eubœa</i> .<br>* The <i>Lacedaemonians</i> take an advantage of these difficulties. But the <i>Athenians</i> recovering from their disorder and consternation, fit out a fleet under <i>Thrasylus</i> and <i>Thrasylbulus</i> , and defeat the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> in three several sea engagements, at <i>Cynossema</i> , <i>Abydus</i> and <i>Cyzicus</i> . | 410 |
| 3596 | A fleet is sent out under <i>Alcibiades</i> ; which being defeated by <i>Lysander</i> in his absence from it, he falls into disgrace.   | 408 |
| 3598 | * <i>Conon</i> in commission with 9 others succeeds him in his command, and defeats <i>Callicratidas</i> the <i>Lacedaemonian</i> at <i>Arginusœa</i> .   | 406 |
| 3599 | * <i>Lysander</i> taking advantage of <i>Conon's</i> absence,   | 405 |
| 3600 |   | 404 |

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
|      | entirely defeats the <i>Athenian</i> fleet at <i>Egospotamus</i> ; and soon after marches to <i>Athens</i> , and besieges it, and reduces it to a surrender: demolishes their fortifications, establishes an <i>Oligarchical</i> government of 30 persons; commonly known by the name of the 30 <i>Tyrants</i> .  |     |
| 3601 | <i>Themistocles</i> exerts himself in opposition to the <i>Tyrants</i> ; but is put to death.   | 403 |
| 3603 | * <i>Themistocles</i> raises a party against them, and at length effects the restoration of the Democracy.  | 401 |
| 3604 | * <i>Cyrus</i> (the younger) his Expedition against his Brother <i>Artaxerxes</i> : is killed.  | 400 |
| 3605 | <i>Socrates</i> is put to death.  | 399 |
| 3907 | * The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> quarrel with the <i>Eleans</i> for siding with the <i>Athenians</i> against them.  | 397 |
| 3609 | * <i>Agésilas</i> makes a successful expedition into <i>Asia</i> against the <i>Persians</i> .  | 395 |
| 3610 | * The <i>Persians</i> , in order to divert the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> from pursuing their conquests in <i>Asia</i> , spirit up a Confederacy of <i>Thebans</i> , <i>Argives</i> and <i>Corinthians</i> , and, at length, the <i>Athenians</i> against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> . — The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> gain two Victories over the Confederates by land, one near <i>Sicyon</i> not far from <i>Corinth</i> ; and the other under <i>Agésilas</i> near <i>Coronea</i> in <i>Bœotia</i> . — But <i>Conon</i> at the head of the <i>Persian</i> fleet defeats them by sea near <i>Cnidus</i> . | 394 |
| 3611 |   | 393 |
| 3612 | * Some of the <i>Corinthians</i> inclining to peace with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , civil dissensions insue, with mutinies and massacres. — <i>Agésilas</i> and <i>Teutias</i> for a time carry all before them on the side of the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> ; but <i>Iphicrates</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> General, defeating the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> forces at <i>Lebæus</i> , recovers the ground that had been lost.  | 392 |
|      | * At this time the Cities of <i>Asia</i> , under the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> jurisdiction, expell the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> Governours.   |     |
| 3613 | <i>Pharnabazus</i> and <i>Conon</i> make a descent on the coasts of <i>Laconia</i> and ravage them. — <i>Conon</i> afterwards sails to <i>Athens</i> , repairs the Haven of <i>Piræus</i> , and rebuilds the walls.   | 391 |
| 3614 | * The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> finding the war at their own doors, and the <i>Athenians</i> likely to reap the advantage of it, send <i>Antalcidas</i> to treat with the  | 390 |

# A Chronological Table

83

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
|      | <i>Perſians</i> about a Peace; offering to give up the <i>Grecian</i> Cities in <i>Aſia</i> . — The <i>Athenians</i> and their Allies taking the Alarm endeavour to counteract their deſigns: The <i>Perſians</i> play them one againſt the other.  |     |
|      | The baniſhment of <i>Camillus</i> from <i>Rome</i> .  |     |
| 3615 | <i>Thraſybulus</i> is killed in his expedition to <i>Rhodes</i> ; after having reduced ſeveral places in the <i>Hel-leſpont</i> &c. for the ſecurity whereof <i>Ipbicrates</i> is ſent out by the <i>Athenians</i> with a conſiderable force.   | 389 |
|      | <i>Rome</i> burnt by the <i>Gauls</i> .   |     |
| 3616 | <i>Chabrias</i> ſubdues the <i>Æginetans</i> : and is ſent to the aſſiſtance of <i>Evagoras</i> K. of <i>Cyprus</i> . — The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make their advantage of his abſence; and ſurpriſe and ſink ſeveral of the <i>Athenian</i> ſhips in their harbour.  | 388 |
| 3618 | * By this time the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Athenians</i> were ſo far tired with haraſſing each other, that they acquieſced in a peace upon the following terms, that “All the cities of <i>Aſia</i> with the “iſlands of <i>Clazomenæ</i> ſhould be under the ju-<br>“riſdiction of <i>Perſia</i> : That the iſlands of <i>Lem-nus</i> , <i>Imbrus</i> and <i>Scirus</i> , as having time im-me-<br>“morial been ſubject to <i>Athens</i> , ſhould continue<br>“ſo; and that all other Cities of <i>Greece</i> ſhould<br>“be free.” | 386 |
|      | The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , under the notion of Guarantees of the Peace, behave insolently towards ſeveral States who had taken part againſt them in the late wars.  |     |
| 3621 | ( <i>Ariſtotle</i> born.)   | 383 |
| 3623 | They ſeize the Citadel of <i>Thebes</i> , which they held four years, and with it the Dominion over <i>Bæotia</i> ; but were then diſpoſſeſſed by the bravery of <i>Pelopidas</i> .   | 381 |
| 3624 | ( <i>Demofthenes</i> born.)   | 380 |
|      | The <i>Athenians</i> are exaſperated againſt the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> for their having laid a deſign to ſurpriſe the <i>Piræus</i> ; they enter into a confederacy with the <i>Thebans</i> , and ſend <i>Chabrias</i> to tra-verſe the deſigns of <i>Ageſilaus</i> in <i>Bæotia</i> , in which he ſucceeds by keeping upon the deſenſive: — and afterwards defeats the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> by ſea: as did the next year  | 372 |
| 3633 | <i>Timotheus</i> the ſon of <i>Canon</i> .  | 371 |

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

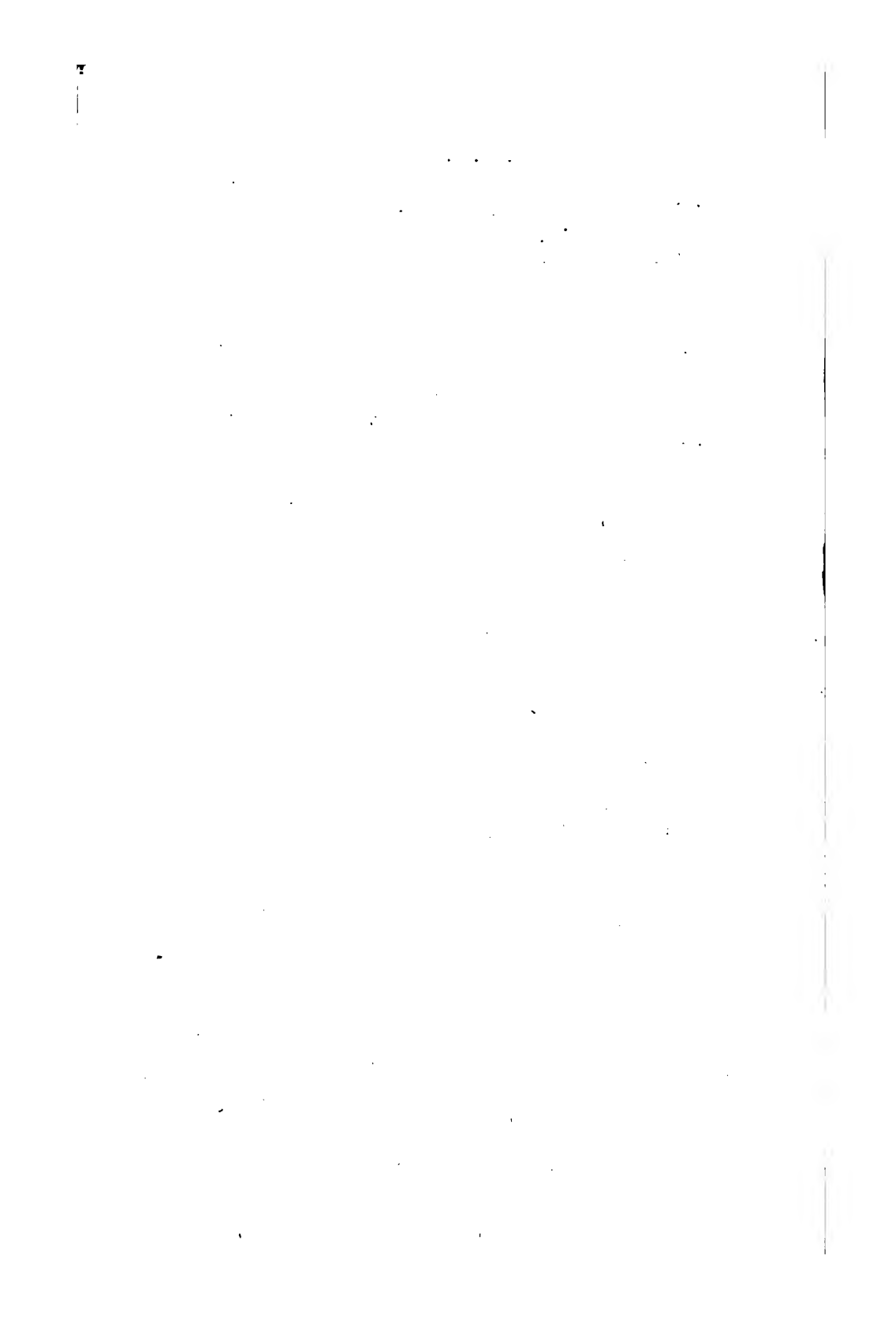
|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
|      | The <i>Thebans</i> take advantage thereof, and drive the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> out of <i>Ætolia</i> ; and joining with the <i>Athenians</i> restore several cities of <i>Greece</i> , particularly in <i>Peloponnesus</i> , to their independency.             |     |
|      | The <i>Athenians</i> grow jealous of the <i>Theban</i> power, and propose a general accommodation. But disputes arising, the <i>Thebans</i> are excluded; and the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> left at liberty to turn their whole force upon them.                   |     |
| 3634 | An engagement insues near <i>Leuctra</i> , in which the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> are routed by the conduct of the <i>Theban</i> General <i>Epaminondas</i> .  | 370 |
| 3637 | The <i>Thebans</i> , upon the credit of this victory, draw several other lesser States into their alliance, and carry their arms into <i>Peloponnesus</i> against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> .  | 367 |
| 3636 | The <i>Athenians</i> oppose a second attempt of <i>Epaminondas</i> to enter <i>Peloponnesus</i> : He forces the pass of the <i>Isthmus</i> ; but is soon after driven back by <i>Chabrias</i> the <i>Athenian</i> General.                                    | 368 |
| 3642 | The <i>Thebans</i> are again called into <i>Peloponnesus</i> , by a party of the <i>Arcadians</i> . — The <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Lacedæmonians</i> oppose them with their united forces, but lose the victory in a general engagement near <i>Mantineæ</i> . | 362 |
|      | <i>Epaminondas</i> the <i>Theban</i> General is slain, and with him sinks the <i>Theban</i> power and greatness.  |     |
|      | A general peace throughout <i>Greece</i> .  |     |
| 3643 | <i>Agefilas</i> K. of <i>Lacedæmon</i> dies.  | 361 |
| 3645 | <i>Xenophon</i> dies. — <i>Philip</i> is declared K. of   | 359 |
| 3646 | <i>Macedon</i> . — defeats the <i>Athenians</i> at <i>Metbone</i> , and seizes <i>Amphipolis</i> , <i>Pydna</i> and <i>Potidæa</i> .  | 358 |
| 3647 | The <i>Athenians</i> seduce <i>Eubœa</i> . — <i>Chabrias</i> is killed.   | 357 |
| 3648 | The <i>Phœtian</i> or <i> sacred</i> war breaks out.  | 356 |
| 3649 | <i>Alexander</i> the Great is born.   | 355 |
| 3650 | <i>Demosthenes</i> begins to signalize his Talents of Oratory.  | 354 |
| 3657 | <i>Plato</i> dies.  | 347 |
| 3659 | The <i>Phœtian</i> war ended by <i>Philip's</i> interposition.  | 345 |
| 3662 | <i>Aristotle</i> comes to the court of <i>Philip</i> and is made Præceptor to his son <i>Alexander</i> .  | 342 |
| 3667 | <i>Isocrates</i> dies.  | 337 |
|      | <i>Philip</i> defeats the <i>Athenians</i> at <i>Chæronea</i>   |     |

# A Chronological Table.

85

| <i>Year of the World.</i> |  | <i>Year before Christ</i> |
|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| 3669                      | <i>Philip</i> is killed.   | 335                       |
| 3681                      | <i>Alexander</i> dies.   | 323                       |
| 3686                      | <i>Demosthenes</i> dies.   | 318                       |
| 3725                      | <i>Pyrrhus</i> victorious over the <i>Romans</i> .   | 279                       |
| 3744                      | The <i>Romans</i> build a fleet of Ships, and the next year obtain a victory at sea over the <i>Carthaginians</i> .  | 260                       |
| 3786                      | <i>Hannibal</i> passes over the <i>Alpes</i> into <i>Italy</i> .   | 216                       |
| 3802                      | <i>Scipio</i> vanquishes him in <i>Africa</i> .  | 202                       |
| 3814                      | <i>Antiochus</i> conquered by <i>M. Æmilius</i> .  | 190                       |
| 3822                      | <i>Hannibal</i> poisons himself.   | 182                       |
| 3829                      | ( <i>History of the Maccabees</i> begins.)   | 175                       |
| 3836                      | <i>Perseus</i> K. of <i>Macedonia</i> subdued.   | 168                       |
| 3858                      | <i>Carthage</i> destroyed by <i>Scipio Æmilianus</i> .   | 146                       |
| 3871                      | <i>Attalus</i> leaves his Dominions by Will to the <i>Romans</i> .   | 133                       |
| 3883                      | <i>Polybius</i> the Historian dies.  | 121                       |
| 3897                      | <i>M. T. Cicero</i> born.  | 107                       |
| 3901                      | <i>Marius</i> triumphs over <i>Jugurtha</i> .  | 103                       |
| 3905                      | <i>C. J. Cæsar</i> born.   | 99                        |
| 3916                      | <i>L. Sylla</i> distinguishes his military talents.  | 88                        |
| 3918                      | <i>M. Cicero</i> pursues his Oratorical studies under <i>Molon</i> .   | 86                        |
| 3919                      | <i>L. Sylla</i> brings <i>Mitbridates</i> to terms.  | 85                        |
| 3923                      | <i>C. Julius Cæsar</i> distinguishes his military Genius in <i>Asia</i> .  | 81                        |
| 3927                      | <i>M. Cicero</i> after spending some time at <i>Athens</i> goes into <i>Asia</i> to improve himself in Oratory.  | 77                        |
| 3928                      | <i>Julius Cæsar</i> goes to <i>Rhodus</i> for the same purpose.  | 76                        |
| 3933                      | <i>L. Lucullus</i> sent against <i>Mitbridates</i> and conquers him.   | 71                        |
| 3935                      | —— subdues <i>Tigranes</i> .   | 69                        |
| 3938                      | <i>Cn. Pompeius</i> sent to succeed <i>Lucullus</i> .  | 66                        |
| 3941                      | <i>Cicero</i> frustrates the traiterous Conspiracy of <i>Cataline</i> .  | 63                        |
| 3946                      | —— is banished by the <i>Clodian</i> Faction but recalled.   | 58                        |
| 3956                      | <i>J. Cæsar</i> gains a compleat victory over <i>Pompey</i> at <i>Pharsalia</i> .  | 48                        |
| 3960                      | —— is killed Id. i. e. 15 <i>Mar</i> .   | 44                        |
| 3961                      | <i>M. Cicero</i> speaks his fifth and other Philippicks, and is soon after assassinated by Order of the <i>Triumviri</i> , <i>Octavius</i> , <i>Antonius</i> and <i>Lepidus</i> .<br>7 Id. i. e. 7 <i>Dec</i> . Aged 64. | 43                        |





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**T H E**  
**ORATION of *PERICLES***

Taken from the  
**TRANSLATION of THUCYDIDES,**  
By Dr. *S M I T H*, Dean of *Chester*.

**T H E**  
**ORATION of *PLATO***

Translated by the late  
**GILBERT WEST, LL.D.**

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1910

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1910

A R G U M E N T  
FROM  
T H U C Y D I D E S,  
BOOK II.

*I*T was the established custom of the Athenians every winter, in war-time, to solemnize a public funeral for those who had fallen in battle, in the manner as follows.—

The bones of the slain were brought to a tabernacle erected for the purpose three days before, and all were at liberty to deck out the remains of their friends at their own discretion. But, when the grand procession was made, ten cypress-coffins were drawn on carriages, one for every tribe, in each of which were separately contained the bones of all that belonged to that tribe. One sumptuous bier was carried along empty for those that were missing, whose bodies could not be found amongst the slain. All who were willing, both citizens and strangers, attended the solemnity; and the women, who were related to the deceased, took their station

A

near

*near the sepulchre groaning and lamenting. They deposited the remains in the public sepulchre, which stood in the finest suburb of the city;—for it had been the constant custom there to bury all who fell in war, except those at Marathon, whose extraordinary valour the Athenians judged proper to honour with a sepulchre on the field of battle. As soon as they were interred, some one selected for the office by the public voice, and ever a person in great esteem for his high understanding, and of high dignity amongst them, pronounced over them the decent panegyric—and this done, they departed.*

**T H E**

THE  
FUNERAL ORATION  
OF  
PERICLES.

**M**ANY of those, who have spoken before me on these occasions, have commended the author of the law, which we are now obeying, for having instituted an oration to the honour of those who sacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it sufficient for men, who have approved their virtue in action, by action to be honoured for it—by such as you see the public gratitude now performing about this funeral, and—that the virtues of Many ought not to be endangered by the management of any One person, when their credit must precariously depend on his oration, which may be good, or may be bad. Difficult indeed it is judiciously to handle a subject, where even probable truth will hardly gain assent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce every thing unfavourably expressed, in respect to what he wishes and what he knows;—whilst the

#### 4 FUNERAL ORATION

stranger pronounceth all exaggerated, through envy of those deeds, which he is conscious are above his own atchievement. For the praises bestowed on others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do those feats, they hear to have been done: they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it false. Yet, as this solemnity hath received its sanction from the authority of our ancestors, it is my duty also to obey the law, and to endeavour to procure, so far as I am able, the good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I SHALL therefore first begin with our forefathers, since both justice and decency require we should on this occasion bestow on them an honourable remembrance. In this our country they kept themselves always firmly settled, and through their valour handed it down free to every since succeeding generation. Worthy indeed of praise are They, and yet more worthy are our immediate Fathers; since, enlarging their own inheritance into the extensive empire which we now possess, they bequeathed *that* their work of toil to us, their Sons. Yet even these successes we ourselves here present, we who are yet in the strength and vigor of our days, have nobly improved, and have made such provisions for this our Athens, that now it is all-sufficient in itself to answer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite those martial exploits by which these ends were accomplished,

plished, or the resolute defences we ourselves and our fathers have made against the formidable invasions of Barbarians and Greeks—your own knowledge of these will excuse the long detail. But—by what methods we have rose to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I shall first endeavour to shew; and then proceed to the praise of the deceased. These, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occasion: the discussion of them must be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of Strangers.

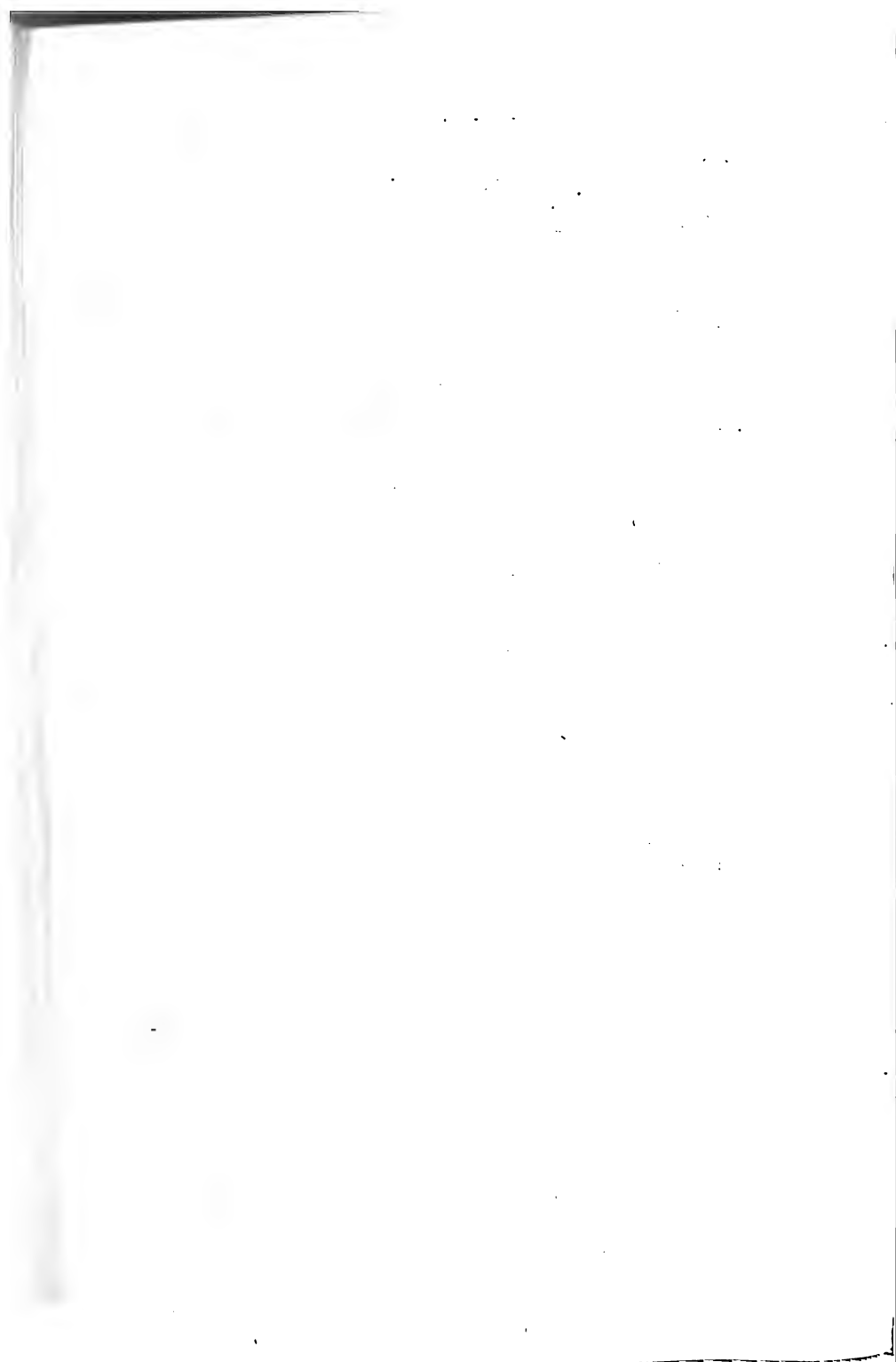
We are happy in a form of Government, which cannot envy the laws of our neighbours:—for it hath served as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the *Few*, but to the whole body of the people, is called a *Democracy*. How different soever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the same general Equality our laws are fitted to preserve,—and superior Honours, just as we excell. The public Administration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not an hindrance; since whoever is able to serve his country meets with no obstacle to preferment from his first obscurity. The Offices of the *State* we go through without obstructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without suspicions; not  
angry



angry with a neighbour for following the bent of his own humour, nor putting on that countenance of discontent, which pains, tho' it cannot punish:—so that in private life we converse together without diffidence or damage, whilst we dare not on any account offend against the Public, through the reverence we bear to the Magistrates and the Laws, chiefly to those *enacted* for redress of the injured, and to those that are *unwritten*, a breach of which is allowed disgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind most frequent intermissions of care, by the appointment of public recreations and sacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens causeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth, than of those of other nations.

IN the affairs of War we excell those of our enemies, who adhere to methods opposite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general resort, nor ever drive any stranger from us, whom either improvement or curiosity hath brought amongst us, lest any enemy should hurt us by seeing what is never concealed. We place not so great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war, as in the native warmth of our souls impelling us to action.

action. In point of Education, the youth of some people are inured by a course of laborious exercise to support toil and hardship like men; but we, notwithstanding our easy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, since the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united strength of all their confederates. But, when we invade the dominions of our neighbours, for the most part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country those who fight in defence of their own habitations. The strength of our whole force no enemy yet hath ever experienced; because it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our service by land. But, if any-where they engage and defeat a small party of our forces, they boastingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly over-powered by our united strength. What though, from a state of inactivity rather than laborious exercise, or with a natural rather than an acquired valour, we learn to encounter danger?—this good at least we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehension of possible misfortunes, and, when we hazard the danger, are found no less courageous than those who are continually inured to it. In these respects our whole community deserves justly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.



but by conferring obligations. For he, who does a kindness, hath the advantage over him, who by the law of gratitude becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The person obliged is compelled to act the more insipid part, conscious that a return of kindness is merely a payment, not an obligation. And we alone are splendidly beneficent to others, not so much from interested motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I shall sum up what yet remains, by only adding—that our Athens in general is the school of Greece; and that every single Athenian amongst us is excellently formed, by his personal qualifications, for all the various scenes of active life, acting with a most graceful demeanor, and a most ready habit of dispatch.

THAT I have not on this occasion made use of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height, to which by such a conduct this *State* hath rose, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report;—the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the blush of indignation, and to their tributaries yields no discontent, as if subject to men unworthy to command. That we deserve our power, we need no evidence to manifest. We have great and signal proofs of this, which intitle us to the admiration of the present and future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praise; no poet to deck off a

B

history

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history with the charms of verse, where the opinion of exploits must suffer by a strict relation. Every sea hath been opened by our fleets, and every land hath been penetrated by our armies, which have every-where left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendship.

In the just defence of such a *State*, these victims of their own valour, scorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought and bravely died. And every one of those who survive is ready, I am persuaded, to sacrifice life in such a cause. And for this reason I enlarged so much on national points, to give the clearest proof, that in the present war we have more at stake, than men whose public advantages are not so valuable; and to illustrate by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them, who are now my subject, and the greatest part of which they have now received. For the encomiums, with which I have celebrated the *State*, have been earned for it by the bravery of *these*, and of men like *these*. And such compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated, if passed on any Grecians, but these alone. The fatal period, to which these gallant souls are now reduced, is the surest evidence of their merit—an evidence begun in their lives, and completed in their deaths. For it is a debt of justice to pay superior honours to men, who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, tho' inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour. Their  
last

last service effaceth all former demerits;—it extends to the public: their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet not one of these was induced to shrink from danger, through fondness of those delights which the peaceful affluent life bestows:—not one was the less lavish of his life, through the flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One passion there was in their minds much stronger than these—the desire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the most honourable prize of dangers, they boldly rushed towards the mark, to glut revenge, and then to satisfy those secondary passions. The uncertain event they had already secured in hope; what their eyes shewed plainly must be done, they trusted to their own valour to accomplish, thinking it more glorious to defend themselves and die in the attempt, than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice indeed they fled, but presented their bodies to the shock of battle; when, insensible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they instantly dropt—and thus discharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for You, who now survive them—it is your business to pray for a better fate—but to think it your duty also to preserve the same spirit and warmth of courage against your enemies, not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man, indulging a flow of

words, may tell you, what you yourselves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly against your enemies—but rather making the daily-increasing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and growing quite enamoured of it. And, when it really appears great to your apprehensions, think again, that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were sensible of shame; who, whenever their attempts were unsuccessful, thought it dishonour their country should stand in need of any thing their valour could do for it, and so made it the most glorious *present*. Bestowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praise that will never decay, a sepulchre that will always be most illustrious—not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is preserved, to be on every occasion, when honour is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. This whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men; nor is it the inscription on the columns in their native soil alone that shews their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inscriptions, in every foreign nation, repositied more durably in universal remembrance, than on their own tomb. From this very moment, emulating these noble patterns, placing your happiness in liberty, and liberty in valour, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For, to be lavish of life is not so noble in those  
whom

whom misfortunes have reduced to misery and despair, as in men who hazard the loss of a comfortable subsistence, and the enjoyment of all the blessings this world affords, by an unsuccessful enterprize. Adversity, after a series of ease and affluence, sinks deeper into the heart of a man of spirit, than the stroke of death insensibly received in the vigor of life and public hope.

FOR this reason, the *Parents* of those who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail,—I shall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and that happiness belongs to men who have reached the most glorious period of life, as these now have, who are to you the source of sorrow,—these whose life hath received its ample measure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its conclusion. I know it in truth a difficult task to fix comfort in those breasts, which will have frequent remembrances, in seeing the happiness of others, in what they once themselves enjoyed. And sorrow flows not from the absence of those good things which we have never yet experienced, but from the loss of those to which we have been accustomed. They who are not yet by age exempted from issue, should be comforted by the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to some, in causing them to forget such as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country,



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country, in preventing its desolation, and providing for its security. For those persons cannot in common justice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expose to danger for its safety.—But You, whose age is already far advanced, compute the greater share of happiness your longer time hath afforded for so much gain, persuaded in yourselves, the remainder will be but short, and enlighten that space by the glory gained by *These*. It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honour.—

To You, the *Sons* and *Brothers* of the deceased, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him, who no longer is, every one is ready to commend; so that, to whatever height you push your deserts, you will scarce ever be thought to equal, but to be somewhat inferior to these. Envy will exert itself against a competitor, whilst life remains; but when death stops the competition, affection will applaud without restraint.

If after this it be expected for me to say any thing to *You*, who are now reduced to a state of Widowhood, about female virtue, I shall express it all in one short admonition:—It is your greatest glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your sex, and to give the Men as little handle as possible

## OF PERICLES. 15

possible to talk of your behaviour, whether *well* or *ill*.

I HAVE now discharged the province allotted me by the laws, and said what I thought most pertinent to this assembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honoured. Their children, from this day till they arrive at manhood, shall be educated at the public expence of the *State*, which hath appointed so beneficial a meed for these and all future relicts of the public contests. For, wherever the greatest rewards are proposed for virtue, there the best patriots are ever to be found.—Now, let every one respectively indulge the decent grief for his departed friends, and then retire.

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THE  
FUNERAL ORATION  
OF  
PLATO.

WHATEVER was requisite to be *done* for these brave men, hath been performed on our part; They have received their *Dues*, and are now proceeding on their *fated Journey*, dismissed with these public Honours paid to them as well by the whole State, as by their own Families and Friends. But to make these honours complete, something remains to be *said*, which not only the Laws require to be rendered unto them, but Reason also. For an eloquent and well-spoken Oration impresses on the minds of the audience a lasting admiration of great and virtuous actions. But the present occasion demands an Oration of a particular kind; an Oration that may at one and the same time do justice to the Dead; animate and soothe the Living; excite the Children and Brethren of the Deceased to an imitation of their virtues; and administer comfort to the Fathers and the Mothers, and whoever of their remoter Ancestors are yet alive. And where shall

we

## FUN. ORAT. OF PLATO. 17

we find an Orator equal to such a task? Or with what Topic shall we begin the praises of those brave men, who when living made their friends happy by their virtues; and with their deaths purchased the safety of all who now survive?

As they were in some measure indebted to nature for their virtue, it is in my opinion necessary to begin their Panegyric with an account of their original: for that they were virtuous was owing to their being sprung of virtuous Ancestors. Let us then celebrate, in the first place, their noble Birth; and in the second, their Nature and Education; and afterwards, by exhibiting their Actions to view, make it appear that *these* also were virtuous, and such as corresponded to all those advantages.

FIRST then, as to the nobility of their descent: They are sprung from a race of Ancestors, not adventitious, not transplanted from I know not where, but *natives of the soil*, dwelling and living really and properly in their own country; nursed, not like other nations by a step-mother, but a parent, the very land which they inhabited; in which they now lie buried; the soil which bred, which nursed them, and which, as her own, has again received them into her bosom. It is highly reasonable therefore to bestow some encomiums on this Mother; and the rather, because the nobility of these her Children will at the same time, and in

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the same proportion, be illustrated and adorned. This Country indeed deserves to be celebrated by all mankind, not only by us her Children, and that upon many accounts, but principally because she is a favourite of Heaven, of which the rivalry of the Gods, who contended for her, and the decision that followed thereupon, is a clear evidence. And how can any mortal reasonably pretend to refuse praise to that country, which the Gods have vouchsafed to honour? Another topic of Panegyric is this, that at the very time when the earth bred and produced animals of all kinds, both wild and tame, This Country of ours preserved her purity; refused to bring forth savage beasts; and among all animals chose to produce Man only, who surpasses the rest in understanding, and who alone hath instituted Laws for the observation of Justice, and the worship of the Gods. To what I here advance, that this earth is the genuine parent of our Forefathers, I must observe, that every thing that brings forth is provided with nourishment for what it has produced; and that a Woman is proved to be really and in fact a mother from her being supplied with native fountains of nourishment for the sustenance of the child. The like substantial evidence of her having brought forth Man hath this our Country and Mother; for she alone at the same time, and she *first* produced the useful grain of wheat and barley, the proper and the best food of man: so that it is evident she was the parent of this species of Animals; and to her  
these

these proofs hold more strongly than to a Woman. For this great Mother did not most certainly, in breeding and producing, copy after her Daughters, but they after her: neither did she grudge the world these her fruits, but generously dispensed them to other nations. For her children she in the next place brought forth the olive, the support of toil; and after she had thus nourished and reared them up to manhood, she brought them Deities for their Governors and Instructors, whose names it is unnecessary to mention in this place.

WE all know who furnished us with the necessities and securities of life; who instructed us in the arts requisite for our daily support; who gave us, and who taught us the use of arms for the defence of our Country. Our Ancestors, thus born and thus brought up, framed a Government, of which it may not be improper to speak a few words. For Government is the nurse of men; a good one, of virtuous men; a bad one, of wicked men. That those who went before us were educated under a good government, is necessary to shew; for indeed it was owing to the advantage of being bred under a good government, that both they and their descendants, the fathers of the deceased, became virtuous. The form of Government then was, as it now is, an *Aristocracy*: Under this form of Government we still live, and for the most part have done so from that time to this. Let others call it a *Democracy*, or by what name they

## 10 FUNERAL ORATION

they please: It is in truth an *Aristocracy* founded on the good-will of the People. We have always had Magistrates invested with kingly power, some of whom were hereditary, others elective: but the People were generally the most powerful, and they always bestowed the authority and power of the state upon those whom they judged the most worthy. No man was excluded for the meanness, the obscurity, or the poverty of his family; nor advanced for the contrary qualifications of his Ancestors, as is practised in other states. Their choice was limited to one point. Whoever was esteemed to be wise and good, he had the authority, and he the power. The cause of this equal government among us was the equality of our original. For other states are composed of men of every country, and of different extractions; whence their governments are unequal; *Tyrannies* or *Oligarchies*, in which one part of the people look upon the other as Slaves, and They upon them as Masters. But we, who are all Brethren, born of one and the same parent, disdain to be the Slaves or the Lords of one another. On the contrary, the natural equality of our births compelled us to seek after a legal equality in our government, and forbad us to yield any subjection among ourselves, excepting only to the Wise and Virtuous. Hence it came to pass, that all our ancestors, the fathers of the deceased, and they themselves, being thus nobly born, thus nursed up in liberty, exhibited in all their conduct, as well private as public, a  
number

number of great and glorious Actions for the service of mankind; thinking it their duty as well to protect *Grecians* against *Grecians*, as to maintain the general liberty of Greece against all foreign invaders. How they repelled the invasions of *Eumolpus*, of the *Amazons*, and of other enemies before them, and in what manner they defended the *Argives* against the *Thebans*, and the *Heraclides* against the *Argives*, the time will not permit me fully to relate: besides, their virtues having been finely celebrated by the poets in their melodious songs, the world hath been already acquainted with them; so that we should but disgrace ourselves in attempting the same subjects in simple prose. For these reasons therefore I think proper to pass over these matters. Justice hath been done to their merits. But I think myself obliged to recall the memory of those exploits, which, worthy as they were, the poets have not thought worthy of their notice, and which are now almost buried in oblivion; that, by setting forth the praises of the great men who performed them, I may woo the poets to admit them into their songs and verses. The chief of these are the actions of our forefathers, the children of this soil, who held the hands of those Lords of *Asia*, the *Persians*, when they attempted to enslave *Europe*; whose virtues therefore in the first place deserve to be commemorated, and to be praised. To give their merit its proper lustre, we ought to take a view of it in that period of time, when all *Asia* was in subjection  
to



to the third king of the *Persian* race. The first of these was *Cyrus*, who by his own great abilities freed his countrymen the *Persians*, enslaved the *Medes* his Masters, and brought under his dominion the rest of *Asia* as far as *Egypt*. His son subdued *Egypt*, and as much of *Libya* as was accessible, by his arms. *Darius*, the third king, extended the limits of his empire by his land-forces as far as *Scythia*, and by his fleets made himself master of the sea, and of the islands, insomuch that no one durst stand up in opposition to him. The very opinions of mankind seem to have been subdued; so many, so powerful, and so warlike were the nations which were bowed to the Persian yoke. This *Darius*, accusing us and the Eretrians of an attempt upon *Sardis*, made that a pretence for sending an army of 500000 men on board his ships and transports, and a fleet of 300 sail; over which he appointed *Datis* to be general, ordering him, under the forfeiture of his head, to bring back the Eretrians and Athenians captive. *Datis* sailing to Eretria, against a nation, which of all the Greeks had at that time the greatest reputation for valour, and was moreover very numerous, subdued them in three days; and that none of them might escape, he took this method of searching the whole Island. Causing his troops to march to the utmost limits of the Eretrians, and extend themselves from sea to sea, he ordered them to join their hands, and sweep the country, that he might be able to assure the king, that not a man  
had

had escaped him. With the like design he passed from Eretria to Marathon, imagining he had nothing to do but to clap the same inevitable yoke upon the neck of the Athenians, and carry them off, as he had done the Eretrians. During these transactions, part of which were accomplished, and part yet in execution, no nation of the Greeks offered to stir to the assistance either of the Eretrians or the Athenians, except the Lacedæmonians, and they did not join us till the day after the battle. The rest, struck with terror, and preferring their present safety, kept quiet at home. By this one may form a judgment of the bravery of those men, who received the attack of the Barbarians at Marathon, chastised the arrogance of Asia, and were the first who erected trophies for their victory over a barbarous enemy; by their example instructing others, that the power of Persia was not invincible, and that wealth and numbers must yield to virtue. I call those men, therefore, not our *natural*, but our *civil* Fathers also, the fathers of our liberty, and of the liberty of all Europe. For the Grecians, surveying this day's work, were taught by their Marathonian masters to hazard new battles in the defence of their country. Upon these, therefore, ought we in reason to bestow the first Palm, and give the second to them, who afterwards fought and conquered in the sea-fights of Salamis and Artemisium. He who would go over the several actions of these brave men, enumerate the many difficulties they had to struggle with,  
both

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both by Sea and Land, and tell how they surmounted them, would have much to say. But I shall only mention what appears to me to be the greatest exploit after that of Marathon. For by that victory the Greeks had been only taught, that upon land it was possible for a small number of Grecians to overcome a multitude of Barbarians; but that at sea they were able to effect the same thing, was not yet evident. The Persians had the reputation of being invincible at sea, by the superiority of their numbers, their riches, their naval skill, and strength. Now what is most praiseworthy in those brave men, who signalized themselves at sea, is, that they did thereby, as it were, loosen those bands of terror, which had held the Grecians so fast bound, and caused them no longer to stand in awe of numbers, whether of ships or men. From these two actions, this of Salamis and that of Marathon, all Greece was instructed and accustomed not to be afraid of the Barbarians, either by land or sea. The third great exploit for the deliverance of Greece, as well in order as in degree, is the action of Plataea; in the glory of which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an equal part. This great, this arduous enterprize was achieved, I say, by these two nations, and for this their merit they are now celebrated by us, and will be by our posterity to the latest times. After this many states of Greece still sided with the Barbarian, and the King himself was reported to have a design of invading Greece once more.

It would then be highly unjust not to take notice of those also, who completed the work of their forefathers, and put the finishing hand to our deliverance, by scouring the seas of every thing that had the name of Barbarian, and driving them within their own limits. These were they, who were engaged in the naval fight at Eurymedon, in the expeditions to Cyprus, to Ægypt, and many other places. These ought we, therefore, to commemorate, and to acknowledge our obligations to them, for having taught the great king to fear, to attend to his own safety, and not to be plotting the overthrow of Greece. This war against the Barbarians did our commonwealth, with her own forces only, draw out to the very dress, for her own security, and that of her Allies. Peace being made, and Athens being now in her highest glory, there fell upon her, what is most commonly the lot of the successful, first a rivalry in some other states of Greece, and from thence jealousy, which drew her, tho' unwilling, into a war against Grecians: upon the breaking out of which war, the Athenians fought a battle with the Lacedæmonians at Tanagra for the liberties of Bœotia. Tho' the issue of this battle was doubtful, yet the following Action proved decisive: for some of the Allies of the Bœotians having deserted those to whose assistance they came, our Countrymen having on the third day after obtained a victory, we recovered to a sense of their duty those who without reason had fallen off from it. These brave men

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having

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having fought against Grecians for the liberty of Grecians, and delivered those whose cause they had undertaken to defend, were the first after the Persian war, upon whom the Commonwealth conferred the honour of being buried in this public Coemetry. After this the war became more general; all Greece fell upon us at once, and ravaged our country, ill requiting the favours they had received from this City. But the Athenians having defeated their enemies in a sea-fight, and taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria their leaders the Lacedæmonians, when it was in their power to have put them to death, spared their lives, forgave them, and made peace with them; thinking, that altho' in a war against Barbarians nothing less than their utter ruin should be aimed at, yet that in a war between Grecians and Grecians the contest should be carried on as far as victory indeed, but that the common interest of Greece ought not to be sacrificed to any particular resentment. Are not these brave men, therefore, worthy to be praised, who were engaged in that war, and who now lie buried here? They, who made it appear, if indeed it was a question, whether in the first Persian war another nation was not at least equal to the Athenians: they, I say, who made it appear that such a question was intirely groundless. These men made the superiority of the Athenians sufficiently evident, by their coming off victorious in that war, in which all Greece took part against them, and worsting in battle, with the forces of  
Athens

Athens only, those who had set themselves up for the Chiefs of Greece, tho' they could pretend to no more than an equal share with the Athenians in their victories gained over the Barbarians. After the peace arose another horrible and unexpected war, in which many brave men fell, who here lie buried. Some of these erected many trophies in Sicily; to which country they had sailed in order to protect the Leontines in their liberties, whom we were bound to assist by solemn treaties. But before they could arrive, the passage being long, the Leontines were reduced to extremities, and disabled from yielding them any assistance; for which reason they gave over the attempt, and were unfortunate; tho' it must be owned, their enemies, those against whom they came to fight, behaved with such virtue and moderation, that they deserved far greater praise than some who were only confederates in that war. Others signalized themselves in the Hellespont, by taking all the ships of the enemy in one day, and by several other victories. I styled this a horrible and unexpected war, because some of the states of Greece carried their enmity to this city so far, as to presume to send an embassy to the king of Persia, their and our most inveterate enemy, to invite, upon their own particular views, that Barbarian into Greece, whom, for the common cause, they had formerly joined with us to drive out of Europe; thus uniting in a league against Athens all the Greeks and Barbarians. Upon which occasion the strength and

valour of this state became most conspicuous. For our enemies looking upon Athens as already vanquished, and having seized some of our ships at Mitylene, These gallant men (for so they confessedly were) whom we now commemorate, went to their relief with sixty sail, and boarding the enemy's ships, gained a victory over them, and delivered their own allies, but met with a lot unworthy of their valour; for their bodies were not, as they ought to have been, taken up out of the sea, but had their burial there. And surely they deserve to be remembered ever with praise and honour. For by their valour we came off victorious, not in that engagement only, but throughout the whole war; and through their bravery was it that our commonwealth gained the reputation of being invincible, though attacked by the united forces of all mankind. Neither hath this reputation been falsified in fact. For we were conquered, not by our enemies, but by our own dissensions. As to Them we remain invincible even to this day. But we have vanquished, have subdued ourselves. After these transactions, a calm ensuing, and a peace betwixt us and other nations, a civil war broke out, which was carried on in such a manner, that, if by the decree of heaven dissensions must necessarily arise, a man would pray that his country might be so and no otherwise distempered. For how easily, how much like friends and fellow-citizens, did the people of the Piræus, and those of the City, run into a reconciliation with each other! and with  
how

how much moderation did they lay aside their hostility against those of Eleufis, contrary to the expectations of all Greece! All which is to be ascribed to no other cause than their consanguinity, the natural basis of firm and real friendship. We ought not therefore to pass over in silence even those, who in this war were slain on either side; but, as far as in us lies, endeavour to reconcile them to each other; praying and sacrificing upon these occasions to those Dæmons who have the command and direction over them, inasmuch as we ourselves are reconciled. For they did not attack each other out of hatred and malice, but from the malignity of their Fortune. Of this we ourselves are living evidences, who, being of the same common original with them, have forgiven each other, both what we did, and what we suffered. After this the city had rest, and enjoyed a profound peace, easily pardoning the Barbarians, who having been ill enough treated by this state, returned it but as they ought. But she could not help resenting the behaviour of the Greeks, when she called to mind the benefits they had received, and the retribution they made, by uniting with the Barbarians, depriving us of our ships, to which they formerly owed their own deliverance, and pulling down our walls, in return for our having saved theirs from ruin. The city then having taken the resolution not to give for the future any assistance to the Greeks, whether oppressed by Grecians or Barbarians, remained quiet: upon which the  
Lacedæmonians,



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Lacedæmonians, imagining that Athens, the Patroness of liberty, was fallen, and that now was the time for them to pursue their proper business, the enslaving of others, set immediately about it. I need not enlarge upon what followed. Those transactions are neither of an ancient date, nor perplexed by a variety of Actors. We all know in what a consternation the chief states of Greece, the Argives, the Bœotians, the Corinthians, applied to this city for succour; and what was the greatest miracle of all, that the king of Persia himself was reduced to such a straight, as to have no hopes of safety from any other quarter, than from this very city, whose destruction he had so eagerly pursued. And, indeed, if Athens can be justly accused of any thing, it is of having been always too compassionate, too much inclined to salve the wounds of the afflicted. For at this very time she was not able to persevere, and to keep to her resolution, of not assisting those in the preservation of their liberties, who had maliciously and designedly injured her. She yielded, she assisted them, and by that assistance rescued them from slavery, and gave them their liberty, till they should think fit to enslave themselves again. She had not indeed the assurance to act so preposterous a part, as to send the king of Persia any succours; she bore too great a reverence to the trophies of Marathon, of Salamis, and Platæa: yet by conniving at the assistance given him by Fugitives, and such as voluntarily entered into his service, she was confessedly

feffedly the caufe of his prefervation. At this time ſhe repaired her fortifications and her fleets, and prepared again for war; finding herſelf under the neceffity of entering into one with the Lacedæmonians, for the protection of the Parians. The king of Perſia, on his part, as ſoon as he ſaw the Lacedæmonians had given over all thoughts of carrying on a war by ſea, took umbrage at the Athenians; and reſolving to break the peace, demanded thoſe Grecian ſtates, which were upon the continent of Aſia, to be delivered up to him (thoſe very ſtates which the Lacedæmonians had formerly conſented to give up) as the condition of his continuing his amity with us and our allies. This Demand he did not imagine would be complied with, and he made it only that he might, upon its being rejected, have a fair pretence for breaking the treaty. But he was miſtaken as to ſome of his Allies; for the Corinthians, the Argives, and the Bœotians determined to comply with his demand, and even entered into a treaty with him, which they confirmed upon oath, to give up the Greeks upon the continent of Aſia, provided he would furniſh them with money. But we, and we alone, had not the aſſurance to abandon thoſe ſtates, much leſs to ſwear to ſuch a treaty. That the city of Athens is ſo ſpirited and ſo frank, ſo conſtant and ſo hearty in the common cauſe, and as it were by nature ſo averſe to the Barbarian, muſt be aſcribed to her being wholly Greek, without any mixture of foreign alloy. For none of your  
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foreign Heroes, Pelops, Cadmus, Ægyptus; Danaus, and many others, who, though living under Grecian Laws, were Barbarians by extraction; none of these, I say, are of the number of our Citizens. We are genuine Greeks, no Half-Barbarians. Hence proceeds the genuine and undiluted enmity of Athens to all Barbarians: Wherefore we were once more left alone, for refusing to do an action so infamous and so impious; as that of delivering up Grecians into the hands of Persians. But being restored to what we had been deprived of in the former war, by the assistance of Heaven we prosecuted this with more success. For becoming once again masters of a fleet, having rebuilt our walls, and recovered our colonies, we were soon freed from a war, which our enemies were very glad to get rid of. In this war we lost indeed many gallant men, some at Corinth by the disadvantage of their situation; others at Lechæum by treachery. Not were they less gallant; who saved the king of Persia, and drove the Lacedæmonians out of the seas: These are the men I would call to your remembrance, and in honouring and praising such as These it becomes all of you to join.

SUCH were the exploits of those brave men, who here lie buried; such were the exploits of those others also, who, though unhappily deprived of burial, died like them in the service of their country: exploits many and great indeed, as hath been related;

lated; but more and still greater yet remain untold; to enumerate all which many whole days and nights would scarce suffice. It is the duty therefore of all and of every particular man to bear these things in mind, and, as in battle, to exhort the children of such Fathers not to quit their rank, in which their ancestors have placed them, by a base and cowardly retreat. Accordingly, I myself, O ye Sons of virtuous men, do now exhort you, and, as long as I shall remain among you, will never cease reminding and exhorting you, to use your utmost endeavours to surpass them in virtue. But upon this occasion it is my duty to tell you what your Fathers, when they were going to expose their lives for their country, commanded us to say to those whom they left behind, in case any accident should befall themselves. I will repeat to you what I heard from their own mouths, and what, if I may judge from the discourse they then held, they would now gladly say to you themselves, were it in their power. Imagine therefore you hear them speaking. These were their words:

“ O CHILDREN! That ye are Sons of virtuous Fathers, is evident from our present circumstances. For having it in our option to live with dishonour, we have generously made it our choice to die, rather than bring ourselves and our posterity into disgrace, and reflect infamy back upon our parents and forefathers; persuaded as we were, that the life of one who dishonours his family, is not worth  
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living, and that such a man can have no friend either here upon Earth among mankind, or among the Gods hereafter in the realms below. It behoves you therefore to bear these our words in remembrance, to the end that all your undertakings may be accompanied with virtue; assuring yourselves, that without virtue every acquisition, every pursuit is base and infamous. For wealth can add no dignity to an unmanly mind. The riches of such an one are for others, not for himself. Neither are beauty and strength of Body, when joined with baseness and cowardice, to be deemed ornamental, but disgraceful rather; since, if they make a man more conspicuous, they at the same time make the baseness of his Soul conspicuous also. Wisdom, in like manner, separated from Justice and the rest of the virtues, is not Wisdom, but Cunning. Wherefore in the first place, and in the last, and throughout the whole course of your lives, it is incumbent upon you to labour with all your faculties to surpass us and your progenitors in glory. Otherwise be well assured, that in this contest of virtue, if we remain victorious, the victory will cover us with confusion, which, on the contrary, if obtained by you, will make us happy. The most effectual way for you to surpass us, and obtain this victory, is so to order your conduct, as neither to abuse nor waste the glory left you by your Ancestors. For can any thing be more ignominious for a man, who would be thought something, than to receive honour, not  
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from his own merit, but from the reputation of his forefathers? Hereditary honour is indeed a noble and splendid Patrimony. But to enjoy a fair estate either in fame or money, or for want of a proper supply of wealth and glory of your own, not to be able to transmit it to your posterity is infamous and unmanly. If you endeavour after these things, you will be welcome to us and we to you, whenever your respective fates shall conduct you to us in the world below: but if you disregard them, and become profligate, not one of us shall be willing to receive you. Thus much be spoken to our Children: But to our Fathers and our Mothers, if any of them should survive us, and it should be thought necessary to administer comfort to them, say, that it is their duty patiently to bear misfortunes, whenever they happen, and not to give themselves up to grief: otherwise they will never be without sorrow; for the ordinary occurrences of life will afford sufficient matter for affliction. They should seek to heal and mitigate their troubles in the remembrance, that, as to the most considerable point, the Gods have heard their prayers. For they did not pray that their Children might be immortal, but virtuous and renowned. And This, the greatest of all blessings, they have obtained. It is not easy for mortal man to have every thing fall out according to his wishes in this life. Besides, by bearing their misfortunes with resolution and fortitude, they will gain the opinion of being the genuine parents of magnanimous children, and

of being themselves men of courage and magnanimity; whereas, by sinking under their sorrows, they will raise a suspicion of their not being our Fathers, or Those who shall praise us will be thought to have most grossly flattered us; neither of which things ought to come to pass. They themselves rather should bear chief testimony to our praise, shewing by their actions that they are indeed Men, and the Fathers of Men. The old proverb, *Not too much of any thing*, seems to be well said, and in fact it is so. For he, who hath within himself all that is necessary to happiness, or near the matter, and who doth not so depend upon other men, as to have himself and his affairs in a perpetual fluctuation, according to their good or ill conduct, He, I say, is best provided for this life; He is moderate, He is prudent, He is a Man; and He upon all occasions, whether he obtains or loses an estate or children, will pay the greatest regard to this Proverb: for, placing all his confidence in himself, he will neither be too much elevated with joy, or too much depressed with sorrow. Such men we should think worthy to be our Fathers; such we wish them to be, and such we affirm they are; such likewise are we now proved to be, by neither murmuring nor trembling at death, tho' we were to meet it this instant.<sup>9</sup> And this same state of mind do we now recommend to our Fathers and our Mothers; intreating them to make use of such sentiments as these thro' the remaining part of their lives; and to be persuaded, that they will  
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do us the greatest pleasure, by not weeping and lamenting for us; that, if the Dead have any knowledge of what passes among the Living, their afflicting themselves, and bearing their misfortunes heavily, will be very unacceptable to us; whereas, on the contrary, their bearing their afflictions lightly, and with moderation, will be most pleasing. Our lives and actions are now going to have an end; but such an end, as among Men is deemed most glorious; which therefore ought rather to be graced with honour, than sullied with lamentations. By taking care of our wives and children, by educating the latter, and turning themselves and their minds wholly to such-like employments, they will the more readily forget their misfortunes, and lead a life more exemplary, more agreeable to reason, and more acceptable to us. Let this suffice to be spoken on our part to our relations and friends. To the Commonwealth we recommend the care of our Parents and Children; beseeching Her to give These an honourable education, and to cherish Those in their old age, in a manner worthy of them: but we are sensible that, without this recommendation, all proper care will be taken of them."

THESE things, O Children, and ye Parents of the deceased, have they given me in charge to say to you on their part; and I have most willingly, and to the best of my power, executed their commands. On my own part, and for their sakes, I



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beseech you, ye Sons! to imitate your Fathers; You, Fathers, to take comfort for the loss of these your Sons; assuring yourselves, that both in our public and in our private capacities, we will take care of you and cherish your old-age, as the respective duties and relations of every one of us may require. Ye yourselves well know what provisions the Commonwealth hath made; that by express laws she hath ordered care to be taken of the children and parents of those, who die in battle; and hath given it in charge to the chief magistrate, to take them, above all others, into his particular protection; that the latter may be guarded from all injuries, and the former not be sensible of their orphan state, nor feel the want of a father, whose place the commonwealth supplies, by assisting in the care of their education while they are children, and, when they are grown up to manhood, dismissing them to their several vocations with an honourable present of a complete suit of armour. And this she does, not only with a view of intimating to them, and reminding them of the occupations of their fathers, by presenting them with those implements of valour, which their fathers had so gloriously employed; but also that being arrived to the full strength, and furnished with the armour of a Man, when they first go to take possession of their Household-Gods, they may set out with a good omen. Moreover, she fails not from time to time to pay these anniversary honours to the Deceased; taking upon her to perform

form in general, with regard to them, whatever is due to each from their respective relations; and to complete all, by exhibiting games of different kinds, equestrian and gymnastic, musical and poetical, she effectually supplies the offices of Sons and Heirs to Fathers, of Fathers to Sons, and that of Guardians and Protectors to their Parents and Kindred; discharging at all times all and every part of the duties that belong to All. Learn, therefore, by reflecting upon these things, to bear your afflictions with more patience; for by so doing you will act the most friendly part as well to the dead as to the living, and be better able to give and receive comfort, to cherish and assist each other. And now having jointly paid the tribute of your sorrow to the Deceased, as the law directs, you may all depart.

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